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**JOURNAL OF A**  
**TOUR IN GERMANY**  
**SWEDEN RUSSIA POLAND**

**IN 1813-14**

**BY J. T. JAMES A. M.**

*Bishop of Calcutta.*

**TWO VOLUMES.**

**VOL. II.**

**THIRD EDITION**

**LONDON**  
**JOHN MURRAY ALBEMARLE ST.**  
**1819.**

LONDON:  
PRINTED BY THOMAS DAVISON, WHITEFRIARS.

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# JOURNAL.

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## PETERSBURG CONTINUED.

THE personal character of the reigning emperor is chiefly distinguished by great affability and condescension, which is carried to such a degree, as would be wholly incompatible with his situation, if the government were of any other form than that of an absolute monarchy. He has as often, perhaps, been made the object of satire as of fulsome adulation: but considering the disadvantages of his early life, he must be regarded as one who has, as far as possible, overcome, by natural goodness of temper, those evil habits which circumstances seemed to form for him; and whatever blame some may attach to his caprice, his artfulness, his inflexibility, his vanity, or

his gallantry, he nevertheless has great merit ; and his very foibles may be said to be well suited to the part he is destined to sustain, and to the nation whom he governs. Of the empress it is sufficient to say, she is adored by all classes.

After the ceremonial of our presentation had taken place, the chief houses of Petersburg were open to us, and we were in many of them most kindly received : at some public days for dinner were announced ; at others, general invitations given, and *conversazioni* or balls were the amusements of every evening.

The power shewn by these ladies of entertaining and employing their visitors (though this is by no means confined to Russia) renders these *soirées* at all times agreeable to a stranger. *Madame* is always at home, and as the company come uninvited, it is a chance whether the party will be large or small : but it differs in its very essence from the nature of our more formal assemblies, and to whatever extent

it may be swelled in the course of the evening, still appears only as the domestic circle enlarged.

I may add, that neither here nor in Sweden do the ladies, like those in the most southerly parts of Europe, mix indiscriminately with men at the coffee-houses, for which reason private societies are much more frequented.

The public entertainments at Petersburg were not splendid; the French theatre had been destroyed by fire, and the only places of resort were the Hall of Music, where some admirable concerts were given, and two small theatres for the representation of the German and Russian drama. Their tragedies, having for their subject the earlier events of the history of the czars and grand dukes of Moscow, the discovery of the heir of the Romanov family, or the adventures of Chouski Don-ski, were particularly interesting. But of all the spectacles lately produced, a piece of another description, entitled *Le*

*Cossak à Londres*, had met with the greatest general applause. This personage, one of such ordinary estimation at Petersburg, was introduced on the stage as being newly arrived in the English capital, where he was courted and admired, caressed and beloved, by crowds that thronged to gaze upon him: he was exhibited on the Exchange, feasted in private houses, and visited by those of the highest rank. His appearance, indeed, was represented as having given a new turn to popular fancy and fashion: and in the conclusion, Ackerman's repository in the Strand was introduced, with various prints of fresh Russian costumes, and the English ladies were seen jigging in the street a new dance *à la Cossaque*.

Hitherto little has been said of the existing form of government in Russia; nor, indeed, is it of that nature which requires much elaborate explanation: it is a pure oriental despotism, which, in these days, labours hard to suppress the growing sen-

timent of European liberty. The sovereigns, persons such as the accident of nature may have fashioned for the time being, voluptuous, impotent, ambitious, mad: various specimens have been presented in the few last reigns. The nobles, ever a spirited body, many of them men highly polished and refined; the people, invariably a race of ignorant and illiterate slaves. The *tout ensemble* exhibits indeed an anomaly in the political world, on which the extravagances of Paul, with the catastrophe that succeeded, the present security and even employment of some of the authors of his death, will furnish the best comment and illustration.

Russia has not yet arrived at that point in her moral advancement, when the absolute authority of the crown is restrained by the power of public opinion, which may be said to be the case in other countries, even where no legitimate mode of its expression is afforded: here it is only to be controlled

(as is well known) by acts of force and violence.

The emperor, or as he is styled, autocrat of all the Russias, possesses a supreme unlimited power over the whole empire, and his word is law.

The grand chancellor is the first officer of state; the other ministers are those of the foreign affairs, finance, war, marine, interior, public instruction, divine worship, police.

There is a supreme council of state composed of thirty-five members, including the above, who are invested with powers of superintendence and control over all the public offices.

The only public body besides this is the senate, which is the organ of the decrees or ukases of the emperor, and the highest tribunal of justice in the empire. The seats are filled by the nomination of the emperor, and are sometimes made honourable places of retirement for superan-

nuated military officers, or at others again conferred as employments of credit on favourite courtiers. Another senate is also established at Moscow. An appearance of authority is attached to these bodies as promulgating and regulating the ordinances of the law; but it must be remembered that they have not the slightest resemblance to a legislative assembly, and speak neither the voice of the nation nor even of the nobles, but of the emperor himself alone. So far, indeed, is the principle of autocracy carried, that a vast deal of business, apparently of a trivial nature, is transacted by him in person, and many of those acts where the name of the sovereign in other countries is used merely as a form, here are immediately and personally directed by the emperor. A governor is appointed to each province with the necessary officers, and a large corps of military police or *gensdarmie*, which constitutes every where one of the chief organs of administration.

As to the bias of the public mind with



regard to foreign relations, it does not seem that the general current of opinion turns to the side of English politics. The naval glory and commercial preponderance we have acquired make our career a constant object of envy, and never fail to afford topics for those who are inclined at heart, perhaps from meaner motives, to decry the part we have taken. Our subsidising system does much in aggravation of this feeling, and instead of exciting good-will, draws upon us the malice and hatred of all the contracting parties. The treaties made with Frederic II. of Prussia, with some glaring instances of more modern date, are frequently quoted against us; we are accused of encouraging animosity between nations, with the same sanguinary feeling with which we match two boxers to fight, paying money, as has sometimes really happened, to both sides in succession; with our purse we feed, say they, hostility in the abstract, and strain the sinews of war beyond the limit which na-

ture has imposed to the exertions of each individual power.

Many circumstances, moreover, attendant upon this course, tend to depress the warmth that might otherwise be felt for the party which a country is called upon to espouse; her national energies are restrained by the easy manner in which the supplies are procured; we see not that extrication of enthusiastic and ardent feeling which arises from struggling amidst difficulties; far from this, they consider themselves acting only as secondaries, and their exertions are cheerless and dull because for *value received*. If we reason on nations as on men, it is fair to admit the agency of the same principles upon which men act, and we shall find that no one feels thankful to him who pays him for his services; should we therefore look for a zealous co-operation on the score of gratitude, or even for the appearance of such a feeling, disappointment can be the only result.

To descend to minor points, for we are

certainly no favourites with the world in general, our cause is injured by our unassuming appearance, by our frankness and plain dealing: to claim nothing, is to want just grounds for pretension; to make restoration, is to shew signs of fear. Besides which, we have for years past been engaged in the unwelcome task of rousing the neighbouring nations to a sense of their own duty, and pointing out to their notice the just view of the degradations they laboured under: our steadiness, no doubt, is allowed to merit praise, but our honest advice is felt as a reproof, and savours of the nauseousness of a medicine.

If, as Buonaparte said in his speech to the legislative body, the European war lies only between France and England, if the political opinions of these countries are those on which others place their faith, we may discover numerous circumstances besides these, which materially prejudice our cause. We must look to such things as are likely to influence the ideas and in-

clinations of individuals, which, however trifling they may appear, ought never to be omitted in a just calculation of our means of acquiring popularity. The class is numerous, especially on the continent, who, neglecting more important considerations, ground their notions on the opportunities they may have had of making observations on the character of private persons, and thus pass judgment on the whole nation. Englishmen, less mixed in foreign intercourse, are not gifted with those talents of conversation in society, that power of self-recommendation, of which other nations, particularly the French, make so brilliant a display. We are looked upon as a distinct race of beings, as inhabitants of a secluded island, that have formed to ourselves peculiar habits and manners, which, though universally respected, are never, in spite of the best exertions of our most fashionable tourists, made the subject of admiration or applause: and these are personalities that, if they do not form the

foundation of political sentiment, yet have a powerful effect in giving a tone and colour to feelings of an higher interest.

French politics, on the other hand, have every external advantage to lend them a gloss and brilliancy, and in addition to what has been stated above, many strong and powerful engines are set at work in another way. Their language is common, and their literature universally cultivated; the great work of education of children is chiefly in the hands of Frenchmen, who instil into their minds whatever principles they please. French manners and fashions give the ton, and their poison, which is not always rejected by men, is incense to the female heart. Women (they think no farther than the present day) are captivated with every thing that breathes the air of Paris; and when we state the sex numerically, as one half of a nation, we may add, that their influence involves no small portion of the other. We find universally, that whenever French politics are said to

be prevalent, the focus of the party is *chez Madame* — whoever she may be.

The views of England are never treated impartially. There were those not wanting who even now ventured to assert that the feelings of the nations on the continent were ripened into an animosity against France, which, in the natural course of things, sooner or later, would have produced the same association that had now been set on foot, when the same results must necessarily have fallen out; and this (as they would wish) without having recourse to Great Britain for the means of commencing hostilities. Europe was sufficiently exasperated, it is true, but at the same time we must add, on our parts, that if the time of action had been postponed, nay, had it been delayed even for two or three years, France would have amassed so preponderating a power as to have enabled her to rivet her fetters, perhaps for ever.

The struggle is now passed, but the em-

bers of faction still remain unextinguished : in spite of former examples, French and English interests will rise again in opposition, and we may then view the consequences of our thankless efforts. We shall see, that while restlessness, temerity, profligacy, have admirers ; while gaiety, falsehood, and flattery, have friends ; the French will ever secure a certain hold for themselves, and however great their success may be in the field, will gain an higher ascendancy in the world by their arts than by their arms.

Europe is as a parent with two sons, the one frank, open, honest, industrious, performs his duty and thrives ; the other, gay, thoughtless, petulant, extravagant, always wanting money, always in need, affording a daily source of parental uneasiness. But what is the natural consequence ? The steady boy is praised and disregarded, while the whole tide of maternal fondness is turned towards the offending child.

These feelings, nevertheless, were now suppressed at least for a season. The glory attending upon our triumphant success weighed with some, while others saw an absolute necessity of espousing our cause in the aspect of the times; a third party were brought over by private interest, and the hope of finding a sale for the produce of their estates that accumulated on their hands; and a fourth, perhaps, were our friends, from a thorough conviction of the manly rectitude and integrity of the British government, though these are points that ordinarily gain only a few proselytes.

It was highly amusing to hear the various descriptions that were daily given in conversation respecting that nation; many of them were ludicrous enough, but significant at least of our peculiarities as they strike a foreigner, and symptomatic of the light in which they are constantly viewed. One spoke of England as a free country, as one from whence the people had right of emigration when they pleased; where



there was no military police ; where soldiers were raised by bounty-money. Another would express surprise at the dainty appetites of the common people, who all eat white wheaten bread ; or perhaps sneer at us for our piety, because all the shops were shut and theatres closed on the Sabbath-day. It was asserted, indeed, by a person who had visited London, that he had once been prevented by a waiter at a coffee-house from playing an harmless game at chess, because, forsooth, it was Sunday evening : the story caused great astonishment, and was hardly credited. This ended, a set of inquiries were next set on foot, reflecting on our cold unfeeling dispositions. Was not conjugal infidelity valued at certain prices by our law ? Were not horrible stories of murder, sufficient to shock the public mind, related in the daily gazettes ? Might not a man sell his wife with an halter about her neck in the market ? Was it not lawful for the body of a man deceased to be seized by

his creditors for his debts? and so on. Or, perhaps, if the gentleman's speculations were of a political turn, he would launch a few dark hints on the subject of our disinterested conduct, as it was called, proclaiming that all we did was done with the same aim, and that we were as oppressive tyrants on the sea as the French on shore; and possibly he might wind up his philippic with an insinuation that the subsidies of this year (for they are regarded as a matter of course) seemed to him to be mean and shabby.

But to turn from these expressions of popular ill will to matters in which the same feeling displayed itself amidst the higher powers, it is impossible not to notice the fact, that in spite of the services we had accomplished for Russia in the hour of trial, though the most friendly contract of alliance had lately been concluded at Abo, and notwithstanding the right we had to claim all she could grant, yet no treaty of commerce existed between

the two nations. The regulations against the importation of English articles remained in full force now as during the war; with this relaxation only, that the admission of raw colonial produce was allowed, and vessels were suffered to enter the ports without demanding, in the same fashion as before, their certificate of origin. The continuance of this system was, it may be imagined, highly detrimental to the Russian finances, injuring both the export and import trade, without affording the prospect of any real advantage in return. Our manufactured goods are articles of prime necessity in such a country; and, as it turned out, silks, cloths, cottons, and an hundred other things, were introduced by stealth, either addressed fictitiously to the *Hofcontoir*, as if for the use of the imperial court, or sometimes more directly evading the prohibitions by bribery. They were to be found at a certain price in the shops, where it was the practice to stamp them with the Russian mark, and they then

passed nominally as home made. I might, in addition to numberless other examples, mention the case of a sugar refinery at Abo, that had sent more sugar to Petersburg during the last month than the smallness of their establishment could have enabled them to prepare in the course of a whole year.

But the entire system of the Russian laws relative to trade displays one uniform course of ridiculous chicanery, proving, by the regulations put in force, how little the nature of the subject is really understood. Their laws are acted upon not according to the spirit but the letter, and this with a speciousness of fidelity that serves only to cheat itself. A singular instance occurred during our stay at Petersburg. A vessel laden with oysters arriving at Riga from England, threw the officers at the custom-house into the greatest distress; these things could not be excluded, for they were not manufactured articles, neither were they admissible as colonial produce:

many, therefore, were the difficulties that arose on this knotty point, and various communications passed to and fro between the department of the interior and the custom-house. How it was settled I know not; but long before the final adjustment of the question, whichever way it was, the disputed cargo became putrid, and was thrown away. The police officer, who, some years ago, when it was forbidden to appear in the streets without carrying a lantern, arrested a gentleman because his servant carried it for him, did not commit an error of more punctilious absurdity.

If the end proposed by these regulations is the encouragement of the Russian manufactories, how inconceivably strange is so perverse and mistaken an application of the first principles of political economy! A nation must have arrived at a certain point in her progress towards general prosperity, before she can be declared in a state to support concerns of this sort. Articles of vital necessity should abound,

before she can afford to turn her hands to those of a more superfluous nature. It is not in the power of the greatest autocrat in the world to control the nature of trade, or to force it prematurely to an healthy increase: to attempt, indeed, so preposterous a measure here, is to add one more source of mischief to those evils which the precocious condition of Russia has already so visibly produced\*.

From the observation, that there are but few manufacturing establishments except such as are paid by the government, we should naturally enough be led to infer, that the real temptations to adventure in this line are few, nor can the fact be de-

\* The balance of trade is quoted at 12,000,000 r. against Russia in 1803, and only at 4,000,000 in 1813. Of the fallacy of these sort of statements something has already been observed under the head of Sweden, besides which the smuggling is carried on to an enormous amount: its late increase may be almost sufficient to account for the chief difference in the accounts of these two years. But no official returns in Russia are much to be depended upon.

nied. It is not, perhaps, in our power to draw an argument from the comparison of the alleged prices of the work of the artisan and the rustic, for our decision is liable to much fallacy, in a place where slaves are generally employed, and their labour consequently not to be estimated at its natural rate. But when we are told that a landed estate returns 10 per cent. and if well managed more than 20, or even 30, of annual income, no one can have any doubt in pronouncing the condition of the nation as most unfavourable to the encouragement of manufactures; and we shall find, on examination, various circumstances that serve to corroborate the idea. As for the making up those articles which the bounty of nature has bestowed more plentifully upon the country, it may be surmised that they are not to be included in this class: leather, cordage, linen cloth of various sorts, linseed oil, &c. are manufactured and exported in large quantities, much to the advantage of the merchant. But it is

those for the produce of which no such facilities are offered which are here alluded to.

The imperial manufactory of cotton, on the Neva, is carried on under the greatest advantages the government can bestow, and by their means 600 boys and girls are furnished from the foundling hospital for its service. The stockings, which form one branch of their trade, are necessarily offered for sale at the same price as those imported from England; otherwise they could not enter into competition, not being of so strong a texture, or likely to last so long; but they are all confessedly sent to market at a considerable loss to the manufactory. Here is machinery also for carding and spinning cotton, of which about 5000 pouds\* are annually made up: yet even this part of the concern barely repays its expenses, at the present price of the raw article from England; and the importation

\* A poud equals 36lb. English, or 40 Russian.



of it from China overland would only be an addition to its charge. The flax which is spun, being an home produce, under the advantages of the establishment affords, it is true, a very fair profit, and near 200,000 pouds of twist are sent out each year.

The imperial plate glass manufactory is worked by the emperor's slaves, who are paid by the piece, and earn sometimes twenty-five or twenty-eight roubles per month. Their glass is sold at a cheaper rate in the market than the English; but when we take into the account that the English is raised near three times its natural value by the heavy excise laid upon it, our inference as to the nature of such business in Russia will be the same as in the article before mentioned. Its quality, it may be mentioned, by the by, is far from being so transparent as that brought from England, nor does it, upon ringing, return so clear a sound. This deficiency was attributed to a supposed inferiority in the quality of the oxide of lead used in refining,

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but the unequal strength of their furnace, in which charcoal only is burnt, was, perhaps, the real cause. It is worthy of remark, that the glass sometimes came out (by accident) perfectly fine. These instances would easily be farther extended; and we might observe that the inferior quality of the things produced is no matter of light consideration, but in some instances more prejudicial to the public than the bare increase of price.

In the manufactories of cloth the effect of the restrictions upon importation from England has been an inducement to many to turn their machinery to the making the finer sorts of broad cloth, in consequence of which an article of a very inferior quality has been sent forth, while the coarse cloth used by the poorer classes, which they were better competent to make, is grown so scarce as hardly to be met with in the market.\*

\*The Prussian cloths, of which much was exported to the eastern countries, were made liable to a transit duty of only

There is also established an imperial porcelain manufactory, that the country may boast of its existence: profit is out of the question, for great part of the materials are imported either from the Altai Mountains or from Germany ; but the government are at the whole expense of maintaining it. Besides these, there are imperial iron founderies, an imperial fayence manufactory, imperial bronze, and many others, all requiring aid from the same quarter for their support.

At the head of those which we inspected, there was almost invariably seen a Scotchman or Englishman employed as superintendant. The integrity of these men, as agents, makes them invaluable in Russia ;

15 copecks (silver) while, such was the jealousy of their introduction for the use of the Russians, the duty was raised to 1 rouble 10 copecks (silver), in case the certificate of their importation was not produced from the Asiatic custom-house. This last is lowered, however, to 28 copecks (silver) by an ukase of 1818, and the transit duty to twelve.

while the regularity and preciseness of arrangement which they introduce still more enhances the value of their moral qualities. Nor have they been found less serviceable in matters of an higher description than the conduct of commercial business. Several Scotchmen are now high in the military service; and at the head of the medical profession, and its several branches of military, naval, and civil, are placed three gentlemen of the same country. I could indeed instance a department in which the expenses of the office were reduced by no less a sum than 22,000 R. within the first year of the administration of the present governor, nor did any diminution ensue of the advantages to be received from the establishment, but it was placed in a more efficient state, notwithstanding the economical plan which had been executed.

It is not difficult to account, on very reasonable grounds, for a certain predilection that exists in Russia in favour of the qualifications of foreigners; it ought not, never-

theless, to operate so forcibly as it does in many instances, to the utter exclusion of native talent and industry, or to be carried such lengths as to place an effectual bar to the exertions of any individual who may wish to redeem his character from the universal stigma. Of strangers, it is not too much to say, that not the Scotch alone, but the settlers from Great Britain in general, have been found most serviceable : a few Frenchmen were introduced, upon experiment, during the time of the residence of the French embassy at Petersburg ; but they have neither been found so steady, nor so intelligent, nor so capable as men of business.

Steam-engines were in use at many of the manufactories, having been for the most part imported from England : though we saw an example (at the arsenal) of a machine which had been constructed on the spot under the direction of a Scotchman ; and it seemed (which is an uncommon case with those made abroad) to answer

extremely well. We had an opportunity of observing also some other machinery which had been formed under similar directions, and with similar success in its application; but on the subject of which it may be fair to indulge a few reflections.

At the present era, when the various modes of abridging labour appear to be so much in vogue in England, and when some new scheme of mechanism supersedes in almost every branch the skill of the artisan, it is worth while to observe the general consequences that will finally result from the prevalence of such a system. In former days, when each successive operation was performed by the hand, an almost insurmountable obstacle was thrown in the way of a country which might aim at supplanting, or even rivalling, the ancient establishments of her neighbour. A length of time was required to form hands for work; a service of apprenticeship was necessarily gone through, not merely by the chief workmen, but by the boys and the

women employed in the lowest branches ; in short, every one was obliged to acquire by practice a certain degree of manual dexterity, and the whole population in the vicinity of a manufactory was gradually trained up to its use. In this way thirty or forty years usually elapsed before a concern could be said to have acquired perfection, and to be completely organised in all its functions. A business, when once well established, might be regarded as promising a certain continuance of success ; changes in the line of trade could not possibly be effected so suddenly or so injuriously as we may hereafter expect to see. With modern improvements, the case is altered. The distaff and the needle are thrown aside ; machinery effects the whole. Great is the saving of labour and expense ; but what follows ? It is not possible for any law effectually to prevent models or drawings in one shape or other from being carried out of the country, and together with these, the

means and the power of the establishment, nay its very name and credit, are at the same time conveyed away. While our economical abridgment of labour therefore produces a worse article for the market than before (for this cannot be denied); while it deprives many an honest man of support,—it lays open to our enemies the means of cutting off the sources of our national wealth, and of reaping all the advantages that result from our experience as well as our ingenuity.

This is reasoning on narrow grounds, I am well aware, and much remains to be said on the other side; but such at least is the nature of the immediate practical inconveniences that arise from our new mode; and when treating the subject of an empire where so much unnecessary jealousy is shewn in commercial matters, some indulgence may be granted to a like feeling on our own parts.

It is not with the same spirit of objection that the introduction of the English



machinery of the Mint is mentioned here, but merely as an instance of the esteem in which our countrymen are held for the perfection of their mechanism. The whole of the apparatus employed in coinage was constructed by Messrs. Bolton and Watts, and is precisely similar to that erected in our splendid edifice on Tower-hill, London. The same has also been sent, as I understand, to Copenhagen: indeed its superiority to that of any other invention of this sort is universally acknowledged. The famous Zecca, a *chef d'œuvre* of the French at Milan, is not comparable in point of ingenuity of arrangement, or in practical utility; scarcely producing in a week the same number of pieces which may be here done in a single day.

The labourers are here all peasants of the emperor, receiving soldiers' pay: and it may be permitted to cite one fact relative to their management, which affords a striking proof of the difference of character that exists between the English workmen

and the Russian slave. The men employed at our Mint are select in character, and are held capable of trust: the metal delivered out to them is of course duly weighed and accounted for; but on their leaving the place after the day is over, no search is ever made on their persons; so injurious to their moral principle would be held the bare suspicion of dishonesty: this appearance of confidence had not, when I visited it, been attended with any ill consequences. At Petersburg, every artificer is daily stripped to the skin, and so narrowly searched at night, that even the cunning of a Russian cannot find a secure mode of peculation: besides this, the working clothes are annually destroyed by fire, lest the dust of the metal that adheres should give them an "itching palm." Degradation of the human character is by many people looked upon as a term of philosophy, imaginary perhaps in itself, and not really applicable to life; but the traveller in Russia will frequently see its effects

displayed under a form most hideously visible.

The Mint was now employed in coining silver to be exported for the use of the army. To offer a supply indeed for home circulation would have been useless labour, since whatever issue was made, the country was but little benefited; it passed into the hands of speculating merchants, and soon disappeared: it is a fact, that out of 500,000 English guineas and ducats which, with other metal, had been restamped and sent out from hence in the course of last year, not a single piece was at this time to be met with.

The circumstance may most certainly be accounted for from the depreciation of the paper currency, which has been for some years declining in credit. It is at present so low, that the army, which is paid in silver roubles instead of paper, from the moment they pass the Russian frontier, receives, though nominally the same sum, an intrinsic augmentation of three-fourths



of their pay. The present actual value of a paper rouble, estimated by the quantity of silver\* it will purchase in the market, is equal to about 10½*d.* of English money, instead of 3*s.* 4*d.* the value of the silver which it is meant to represent. Now it is singular that about twenty-five years ago it was not merely at par, but, so excellent was the credit of the bank, that a small agio, of about two copecks, was regularly given for the paper rouble, on account of its superior lightness and convenience.

Of the fall in its value, the pecuniary embarrassments of the government must be attributed as the chief and original cause†:

\* The proportion of alloy was as follows:

83½ silver	} for the rouble.	72 silver	} for small coin.
12½ copper		24 copper	

The heavy metal copper was abundant in circulation. It is worth while to observe, that there is a difference of one-fifth in value between the copper coinage of 1795 and that of 1811; yet the first, which was the most valuable, was still in circulation, and I believe very seldom melted down for profit.

† The *exposé* of the minister of finance for 1818 states,

but its deterioration has been of late years rapidly accelerated by the same circumstances that have acted so powerfully on the promissory issues of every neighbouring country. In England we noted this comparative depreciation during the war, and being aware that the credit of the Bank was unimpeachable, attribute it generally to the unfavourable state of our foreign exchanges. In the United States of America the circulating medium has changed in the same way; the war that cut off the trade had the effect of introducing paper where the precious metals were before abundant, and we ascribe the fact, without hesitation, to the same source. But in countries where foreign trade is not so considerable in its extent, or of such vital importance to the nation, where unfavourable exchanges have not existed in the same degree, and where, if they had,

that upwards of 18,000,000 of paper roubles had been withdrawn from circulation, and public confidence in the system lately adopted had already manifested itself.

the drain could not have been of the same exhausting nature, we must refer our argument to another principle, and look for a new operating cause: we shall probably find that the exchanges (as far as they were against them) must be quoted rather as the effect of the loss of their gold and silver than the cause, and beyond a doubt this fact contributed most powerfully to render permanent their disadvantageous state.

There were moments during the late continental wars when the alarming aspect of affairs, and the overthrow of crowns and principalities occurring on every side, made each individual tremble for the stability of the government to which he was attached: incendiary writings, treacherous negotiations, and unjustifiable invasions, seemed the order of the day; no reliance was to be placed on the imaginary vouchers of public credit, and every man sought to hoard up whatever specie he could collect for subsistence in the day of need, or to provide

the means of flight from oppression. The universal call for gold, in consequence of these fears and uncertainties, was soon felt in the market; the price of gold and silver changed with the vague reports of the day; and the Jews taking advantage of this general impression, in a short time organized the supplies on a regular system, while, by the slow but constantly increasing demand, specie was enhanced to its present value\*. Now, allowing the smallest possible quota as the average amount of what each man might thus withdraw from the circulation, and there were few who had not some spe-

\* Three banks are established under government :

1. Bank of paper, for the change and issue of notes : it may be remarked that the French forged during their invasion 10,000 R. To prevent confusion in the country, they were all received at this bank and paid.

2. Bank of loan for eight years : houses or slaves are admitted as security ; but the latter never at more than 100 R. per head.

3. Bank of loan for 20 years : 5 per cent. interest, and 3 per cent. of the capital lent, are to be repaid annually by the borrower.

cimens in their possession, the aggregate is swelled to an immeasurable amount. Wherever hostilities appeared, gold was called for with the greatest avidity: the armies required it for their necessary supplies; the citizens sought it through their fears; and the money-dealer was sure, therefore, of receiving a high price for his article. If, therefore, during twenty years of unintermitting war in one part of Europe or the other, this constant demand and difficulty of procurance should have matured a settled system, there is no great reason for astonishment. We had seen an example of this at Berlin during our residence there the preceding year, though similar instances might be multiplied without end.

During the summer of 1812 the agents of a Jew's house at Gottenburg collected all the gold coin and bullion which they could procure at any price in every quarter, and exported the whole to Russia. Buonaparte was then marching upon Moscow; alarm was at the highest pitch, and



the gold was bought up by the timorous people with such thoughtless eagerness and avidity, that a profit of 20 per cent. is said to have been realized upon the transaction.

Looking to the condition of another country, we find the paper florins at Vienna not only were at par in 1790, but bore an *agio* similar to what has been stated of the rouble at Petersburg. It was not till the approach of the French in 1797, that paper became of less value than gold; but since that time the value of the latter has gradually augmented from day to day. The over-issues \* made by the Austrian crown have also greatly lowered the value of their paper; but the rate of increase in the price of specie far exceeded the comparative rate of depreciation which might appear to correspond with the declining credit of the government.

\* The Austrian government has also commenced the reduction of their paper currency, and one-sixth has already been withdrawn and burnt.

In addition to these facts, it is a singular circumstance, that one may observe, during the few last years, Russia, Sweden, Austria, and England, have carried on almost the whole of their circulation by means of paper notes: while in those countries where French intendants and administrators appeared, in France, Italy, Germany, Prussia, and the duchy of Warsaw, abundance of specie was to be found: it is true that the changes in those countries had been so rapid, that public confidence was not firmly established enough to admit the introduction of a fictitious currency; but, at the same time, no one was eager to hoard gold or silver, because the colossal power of France, under whose protection they stood, and her uninterrupted career of success, seemed to promise freedom from immediate hostilities. But this subject admits of much speculative discussion; and I should consider myself as overstepping the limits of a traveller's jurisdiction were I to pursue the question any farther.

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The commercial concerns of Petersburg are of considerable extent, and to give an idea of the amount of their transactions with England in particular, it may be stated that the draught of 100,000*l.* sterling upon London would not make any sensible increase in the rate of exchange. The number of ships entered at the port in the course of the year 1813 was 690, of which 343 \* were British. From various

\* Goods exported from Petersburg in British ships in the year 1813.

Bar iron, <i>poods</i>	360,941	Linseed	18,013
Hemp	1,432,785	Quills	8,996,000
Flax	320,726	Mats	47,614
Tallow	1,207,810	Lathwood, <i>pieces</i>	49,390
Bristles	30,916	Deals, <i>stand.</i>	404,759
Potash	108,280	Cordage, <i>poods</i>	72,071
Isinglass	6120	Sailcloth, <i>pieces</i>	12,155
Linen, <i>arshs.</i>	324,027	Ravenducks	23,456
Crash	187,182	Flems	10,363
Hareskins	489,165	Diaper, <i>arshs.</i>	324,027
Wheat, <i>chetverik</i>	36,904		

Candles, wax, glue, hides, lead ore, black lead, caviar, raw silk, cantharides, mercury, rhubarb, aniseed oil, tongues, timber, sole leather, feathers, horses manes,

reasons, however, chiefly on account of the prohibitions laid on English articles, the course of exchange was very unfavourable to that country. Still, notwithstanding the impossibility of balancing accounts by consignments of goods in return, very little difficulty was experienced in the mode of payment; and though it was impossible at this day to diminish the loss upon the exchange by the transport of bullion, yet so brisk a commerce of bills and acceptances was established through the hands of the Prussian Jews and others, that the money market (if it may be so called) was fully

treacle, soap, tobacco, squirrel skins, oats, buckwheat, morocco leather, &c.

*The ordinary Russian measures.*

Verst = 500 sajene, or about  $\frac{2}{3}$  of an English mile.

Sajene = 7 feet.

Arshine = 2 feet 4 inches.

Chetverik (corn measure) holds one pood of dried rye.

A coul or sack equals 8 chetverik of wheat, or 10 of rye, though it is not a fixed measure.

Pood = 40lb. Russian = 36lb. English.

supplied, at least to the amount of the demand.

The present prices\* of articles are given below: where the price of rye bread must be assumed as the standard of the country, rather than that of any other grain; for the rest, it should be remarked that every article is enhanced beyond its natural price by the situation of the town, because so long and so expensive a transport from the interior is necessary even for the most common matters of life. As to another subject which naturally occurs, it may be safely stated that a generally progressive

*\* Prices in Paper Money.*

Day labour, 27 R. per month and food; sometimes 2 R. per day is demanded.

Wheaten bread, 1 R. 60 cop. per lb. English.

Rye bread, 2 R. the pood, or 36lb. English.

Meat, 25 cop. per lb. Russian.

Hire of carriage, 4 horses, and two drivers, 350 R. per month.

170 acres of land (without slaves) 6 versts from Petersburg, was advertised for 3000 R.; but the land was poor.

Dutch Ducat, 18 R.

increase of prices has taken place in Russia, independent of the depreciation of paper money before mentioned : but it is difficult, under the confusion arising from the present condition of their circulating medium, to ascertain the exact degree. Mr. A. Young, in a late pamphlet, states it at an average of 40 per cent. in the price of rye, during a period of twenty years, ending in 1806 ; while wheat (our standard) has risen during the same period, in England, about 36 per cent. The progress, indeed, in Russia ought, on obvious grounds, to exceed that which the more forward state of England could admit of : and may it be permitted to suggest, that this increase, which has taken place, though in proportions somewhat dissimilar, over the whole European continent, ought rather to be attributed, as it doubtless must here, to the growing activity and general increase of demand throughout the several countries, than to any variation in the supply of the precious metals from the mines

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of America? It is something in favour of this argument that in those countries where specie alone has prevailed, as Italy, Germany, and France, (for the assignats were of so short a duration as scarcely to deserve account,) the price of articles has been for some years steadily on the increase. But here, as elsewhere, are innumerable instances of villages and towns that require double the amount for their purposes of circulation which would have sufficed fifty years ago.—Looking, however, to the nature of this great empire, and the various sources whence Russia draws her materials of trade, it is natural to turn our eyes to those dependencies which make so large a geographical display in the north of Asia. They are valuable indeed only on the ground of commerce: the furs they afford are of an admirable quality, and the produce of the mines is very large, besides which, the possession of these ports ensures at all times the means of carrying on a traffic overland with China.

But these are not speculations altogether so lucrative as they might at first sight appear, for the profits arising from the different branches necessarily experience a considerable drawback from the expense of long conveyance which is required through the interior\*. There was a time, during the height of speculation, when the duties on the China trade, at 25 per cent. produced 400,000 roubles of annual revenue, a sum which the whole value of the imports themselves does not now exceed, and future experience will rather tend to diminish than increase the receipts. The

\* The silver caravans from Kolivan and Nertchinsk are the most valuable; from Kolivan two are sent annually, one in December, the other in January. They are about two months on the road; the expense of carriage for their united amount (being about 1000 pouds) is 5000 roubles for 5000 versts; but when this estimate was given, the rouble was at least double its present value. The caravan from Nertchinsk is about three months on the road, being a distance of 7000 versts. It brings 250 poud, and sets out in December. The lead is brought from Nertchinsk by water.



caravans to India, by the Caspian sea and through the Persian territories, have been relinquished, partly on the score of carriage, and partly on account of the war. Few of the more bulky articles, indeed, of the China trade are now made objects of importation : it is only a trifling quantity of nankeens, silks, and tea that is brought, the rest chiefly precious stones, rhubarb, musk, &c. and some ingots of gold ; which last, however, the merchants are obliged to give up to the emperor, receiving silver in its stead. The tea is of a most delicious flavour ; it is perfumed by being packed up with the flowers of the *olea fragrans*, and exhales a powerful aromatic odour upon an infusion being made. I believe there is no tea made up in the same way on that side of the country with which our dealings are carried on.

The exports from Russia, in return, are light furs, such as those of otters, foxes, or beavers ; camlets, English or Silesian cloths, coral, watches, iron, cutlery, &c.

The imperial government have interested themselves constantly to keep up a good understanding with the court of Peking, though not always with the same success. The last embassy forwarded through Siberia was that of Count Golovkin, about seven years ago, which was equipped in the most splendid style. The retinue consisted of an hundred and forty persons, including *savans* and artists of various descriptions; and the presents to the emperor, of which they were the bearers, were of the highest value; they consisted chiefly of velvet cloths, Russian porcelain, large mirrors, and other costly articles. After a journey scarcely remarkable for any thing but its tedious length, they arrived at Kiachta, the usual point of intercourse between the two nations, and thence passed over the frontier to the palace of the Lama, where they represent themselves to have been handsomely entertained.

The country (from the drawings I have seen) appears to abound with mountains,

though not on a gigantic scale; every object however was new, and this part of the expedition afforded them great pleasure.

They partook of various amusements peculiar to the country, and, among others, made a party to hunt in the district of the Barianski, a people, it seems, famous for their skill in the chase: their mode of preparation for this sport was by beating the woods and driving the hares into the plain, where the marksmen being placed in certain stations, shot them with almost unerring dexterity, and this too as they passed at speed; the weapons used for this purpose were bows and arrows, the latter of which were loaded with a very heavy barb, and, it is singular to remark, were never directed with a point blank aim, but at a very considerable elevation.

Every instance of mechanical skill exhibited here does not appear to have been equally commendable. The Russian mirrors, which were of a vast size, seventeen feet in length by nine in breadth, had been

packed on cushions at Petersburg, and laid on a carriage adapted for the purpose, and arrived hitherto uninjured. But on passing to the Chinese side, a mountainous road was to be traversed, and the only provision made for the draught of these carriages was by a range of a dozen horsemen placed in a line, who pressed the cross bar at the end of the pole of the carriage with their bodies, and in this manner performed the office of draught. The insecurity of the scheme on a descent soon manifested itself; there was no mode of resisting the accelerated rapidity of the carriage, owing to which, one of the mirrors, during the return to Kiachta, was overturned and dashed to pieces.

After some days of repose the parties entered into conference; but an unforeseen accident soon arose to prevent an happy conclusion to the negotiations. It was required in the course of the preliminary ceremonials, that the Russian envoy should prostrate himself nine times

before a lighted candle and a yellow skreen, which last, by the whimsical construction of an eastern allegory, was supposed to shroud the blaze of majesty that encircles the august emperor Kia-king. So extraordinary an act of homage, however, was not to be endured on the part of the plenipotentiary representative of all the Russias ; and, unfortunately, advices being received from Peking that the entrance of a Russian ship to the forbidden port of Canton had excited the utmost displeasure of the government, the conference was instantly broken up ; the Wan, the Mongol governor of this part of Tartary, retraced his steps homeward, while Golovkin slunk back to Petersburg to report the total failure of his mission.

The embassy sent to the Lama of Thibet, with a view of soliciting the establishment of a sub-Lama at Kiachta, proved equally fruitless. Had it succeeded in its object, very considerable benefit would have been derived to the Russian colony. *Many*

persons of this religion would have been induced to pass over to their settlements, and the number of the population, as well as the activity of trade, would have been greatly enhanced. The commercial intercourse of these provinces on the frontier is of an extremely lucrative nature: so much indeed has wealth accumulated, that some people, competently informed on the subject, do not hesitate to assert, that the line of the river Amour, the former boundary, was conceded by the Russians merely from motives of fear, on account of the formidable increase in wealth and strength of the mercantile body resident in that quarter.

It was Jermak, a rebel Cossack, who with the aid of a merchant, Strogonov, in order to regain the favour of the Czar Ivan Vassilievitch, first undertook an expedition into Siberia with a small body of men, and succeeded in conquering the most valuable and most powerful districts of the country on the banks of the Irtysh. This was early in the sixteenth century: the scheme was

afterwards followed up, and the whole of Siberia taken possession of; but though so many ages have intervened, it is singular that in the peninsula of Kamschatchka there existed, till within these last few years, a few tribes of marauders who were in the enjoyment of their liberty.

The rest of the country has been long quiet and undisturbed : the inhabitants are, for the most part, a lazy people, their character inoffensive and harmless in proportion to their scarcity of population and infrequency of intercourse.

Siberia is held in subjection at a very small expense to the crown. A few pulks of Cossacks, scattered in the towns, are the only species of armed force which it is thought necessary to introduce; in addition to which a sort of militia is formed from among the natives; those who volunteer for this service being relieved from the burden of taxation, and indulged in the possession of some other privileges of no great account.

The Russian governors of provinces are not long continued in office, unless sent hither in consequence of disgrace at court : the dislike to the service is so great, that a reward is held out even to those who accept the inferior stations of administration ; and to be employed for the space of three years in Siberia gives a title to the rank and privileges of assessor in a college or *bureau*, without exhibiting the certificate of a degree from one of the universities, which is otherwise made a requisite qualification.

The landed property is chiefly vested in the hands of the crown, and is managed through the medium of bailiffs or superintendants ; a system which would naturally be commuted in the course of time for a sort of feudal tenure, if the condition of the country were in any way capable of improvement. But the checks to population, incidental to such a climate, have a very prejudicial effect upon their prosperity, and preclude for ever the possibility of realising any great promise of ameliora-



tion. Other evils that go hand in hand with this state of things contribute also to render these wild tracts still more forlorn : it was about ten years back that the ravages of the small-pox reduced one tribe of the Kamtshadals from three or four hundred to a number scarce exceeding twenty or thirty ; and similar instances of misfortune have occurred, though perhaps not to so great an extent, in many districts. There was an hospital for inoculation established at Irkutsh, the capital of this government, in 1772, but the immense extent of the country makes all such precautionary measures, to a certain degree, ineffectual.

It may be observed, that in a census\*

\* A census of the population of the Russian empire is taken every ten years. The total amount is about 42,299,000 souls, who are scattered over a surface of 341,000 square miles ; of this, the proportion residing in the dominions situate in Europe (including Finland) is about 33,000,000, and the square miles of surface are nearly 82,000.

The bills of mortality throughout the empire (that is,

taken a few years since, only three persons were averaged to each square of seven versts throughout this last province, so scanty are the germs of population: the few roving tribes, however, before alluded to, were of course omitted in this calculation, as being at that time not under control of the police. The most cultivated parts are

including only persons of the Greek church) give the following results:

	Born.	Died.	Marriages.
1811.	1,306,147	936,368	278,600
1812.	1,264,891	971,358	239,073.

From the increase of population in ordinary years, it is inferred that the number would be doubled in 70 years; from the year 1801 to 1806 the excess was laid at 2,665,874.

At St. Petersburg in 1813, all communions included:

Born.	Died.
3,828 boys	10,870 males
3,730 girls	4,114 females
<hr/> 7,558	<hr/> 14,984

This was a year of unusual mortality. The most dangerous maladies were nervous fevers, colic, and consumption.

in the province of Tobolsk ; the capital bearing also this name, and the city of Beresov, both constantly increasing in population, as being places of banishment, are spoken highly of in point of society and amusement.

The Academy of Sciences at Petersburg displays an interesting collection of the several costumes of the nations inhabiting Siberia ; of the Samoieds, Ostiaks, Kouriaks, the Troglodyte Kamtshadals, &c. with some specimens of the dress of the prophetic pagan priestesses, called Chamanes. These women are objects of worship and veneration with a numerous sect of votaries in the north, acknowledging the existence of one God with an host of inferior agents : doctrine, however, has but little concern with a religion which has more powerful means in its possession. The instruments of this system of priestcraft are tangible and visible, and of a nature to inspire terror and awe into the beholders ; a cap and horn of iron, a

mantle strung with rings, and a large deep-toned drum ; whereby, when the priestess falls into her trance of ecstasy, the most horrible combination of inharmonious noises is produced, and her audience proportionably convulsed and alarmed. There were also some of the dresses of the semi-brutal inhabitants of the Aleoutine islands, creatures ignorant of the existence of any supreme power whatsoever ; they worship neither stone, nor wood, nor man, and seem scarcely elevated, in the scale of humanity, to a par with an ordinary Hottentot.

Some Japanese habits and armour made of varnished leather and blue cloth were shewn us too : they were trophies from the former establishments of that kingdom in the Kourile islands.

A very good collection of minerals is also preserved at the Academy of Sciences. The fossil skeletons of the mammoths, found on the banks of the Obi, have been frequently described : the height of the largest is about twelve feet, but it

differs in no other respect from the Asiatic elephant, except that the tusks diverge from each other instead of projecting in a parallel direction. It is presumed from the hair found on part of its body, that the animal was thus provided by nature against the inclemency of a cold climate, and was not, as at first supposed, brought by the stream of the river from the more central regions of Asia. Professor Fischer, at Moscow, afterwards shewed us a jaw-bone of an animal that could not have been inferior in size to the above, but evidently belonging to another species. It was named, for want of a more distinctive title, the *Elasmotherium*, but had as yet afforded little matter of speculation.

The mass of native iron, forty-six pood (or 1656lbs.) in weight, that was discovered by Pallas in Siberia, is also kept here.

But while speaking of this collection, it may not be amiss to recur to the mineralogy of the country which we had

traversed since our departure from Sweden, though the season when our journey was made permitted but few opportunities of observation. It appeared, however, that the rocks of the Alands group, as well as those of Finland in the direction of our route, were a continuation of the same red-coloured granitic formation, which prevailed so generally in Sweden: it abounded in most places with hornblende. At Abo the feldspar seemed predominant: at Sveaborg it became almost a feldspar rock; at Helsingfors we observed mica slate occurring in veins, and at Wiburg the surface was still more diversified, bearing at a little distance the exact resemblance of a *breccia*, in consequence of the numerous large nodules of feldspar that were imbedded. The varieties, otherwise, seemed but few: the hills were constant in their recurrence, and of an uniform character, till, on the borders of Ingria, they suddenly disappeared, and were succeeded by an immense plain, boundless to the

eye. This change in the face of the country is equally abrupt on either side to the east or to the west, forming a regular *escarpment* as a sort of natural frontier to the Finnish provinces. Along its line several beds of the secondary formation occur, lime-stone, sand-stone, &c.; the free-stone, indeed, used in building the Casan church and other edifices at Petersburg, is brought from Kexholm, a place lying in this situation. The continuation of this line of secondary rocks, skirting primary formations nearly similar, may be traced for a considerable distance to the north-east, and it appears again on the other hand in the southern provinces of Sweden and the neighbouring islands, whence a second time crossing the sea, it may be traced in the same direction through the southern highlands of Scotland.

The edifice alluded to above, of which as yet notice has been taken only by name, deserves notoriety on more grounds than one; and having been finished only within

these last few months, it is incumbent on me to give a short description. The cathedral or church of the Holy Virgin of Casan is one of the most splendid structures that modern art has realised : upwards of fifteen years have been consumed in its erection, and the money laid out amounted to no less a sum than 15,000,000 roubles.

Numerous plans were presented to the Academy when the intention of the emperor Paul to build a national cathedral was first announced : some of these, in particular, that of Cameron, a Scotchman, were more correct in taste than the model which we now see put in execution. But it was no unwise sentiment of patriotism that gave the preference to Woronitchki. This architect was a Russian slave, the property of Count Strogonov, brought up under the patronage of his master in the Imperial Academy, where his talent procured him universal admiration ; and being appointed to this new employment, he not



only did honour to his country by his own exertions, but accomplished the several parts of his great undertaking entirely through the hands of native workmen. So laudable an essay merited the success he met with; and it is singular enough, he just lived to see it opened to the public at the beginning of the present year, and then closed his eyes for ever.

The plan is laid in the form of a cross, with a cupola in the centre: each arm of the cross terminates with a Corinthian portico, and that in front is received into a grand semicircular colonnade four columns in depth: the area of the crescent was intended to have been ornamented with the statues of St. Peter and Paul, raised on gigantic blocks of solid granite ten or twelve feet high: one of them, however, was unfortunately sunk in crossing the Neva, and the other still rests on the rollers by which it was conveyed, in one of the little streets near the place of exercise.

In point of architecture, the composition of the building is not quite harmonious throughout ; and the dome is so contracted in its dimensions, as to give, in some points of view, an air of insignificance to the whole. It deserves, however, notwithstanding these defects, considerable praise for the chastity of the decoration, as well as for the noble effect of the approach : in each line as the eye is directed, it is met by a forest of lofty columns, which form, at every step, combinations of the most classical variety.

On entering the interior the spectator is struck by a blaze of pomp and magnificence that would ill assort with any structure, other than the temple of religion. The columns of the aisles are of purple granite highly polished ; their capitals of brass and gold ; rich paintings line the walls, and a dim, mysterious gloom pervades the whole fabric. As we advanced up the nave, we perceived the rites of the church were under celebration ; the

solemn chant of the priest was heard—  
*Gospodi Pomilloui !—Gospodi Pomilloui !*  
On a sudden the doors of the sanctuary  
were thrown open, and the bearded bishop  
appeared, clad in raiment of purple and  
gold: the clouds of incense floated in the  
air, and the manly sonorous voices of the  
priests again echoed through the dome.

It was a striking and impressive sight;  
but, far beyond all this shew of parade,  
one's feelings were moved by the earnest-  
ness and enthusiasm that reigned over the  
face of the people: at one time the whole  
crowd were prostrated on the floor; at an-  
other they were seen scattered in different  
parts of the church, some paying their de-  
votions to the picture of the Virgin, others  
carrying the lighted taper to fix it before  
the shrine of their patron saint, others  
kissing the hands, face, and feet, of the  
holy paintings, others bowing their heads  
to the pavement, with an aspect of humility  
that seemed to shun the light of heaven.  
All alike equally careless of one another,

wholly wrapt up in their several acts of piety and adoration.

Among them an old peasant, who had just entered, particularly drew my attention: he appeared to be about seventy years of age, strong built, erect in his gait, and something above the middle stature; his neck was bare, his head bald, and his beard as white as snow; a simple caftan of sheepskin, girt about his loins, was his attire. He regarded the holy picture of the Virgin with a stedfast gaze for some time, standing at a distance: then, his eyes still fixed, he laid down his staff and bundle, and began to cross himself with much devoutness; while every now and then he bent forward on his knees and touched the ground with his forehead: this exercise he continued so long, that he at last was ready to faint from weariness. His slow and aged hand seemed always to move with a singular air of dignity, and the open majesty of his countenance, combined with the apparent simplicity of his mind, consti-

tuted altogether a picture that Da Vinci himself might have attempted to imitate on the canvass, but never could have equalled in sublimity of conception.

Whence comes it, we may ask, that such different emotions are experienced by a person who enters a Roman Catholic place of worship, from the visitor of the Greek church? In both, the lighted tapers, the pictures, the gaudy shrine, the incense, are the same; in short, every thing that can be supposed to address itself to the imagination is present in the one as in the other; yet it so happens that the former, deficient in sentimental greatness, always savours of a dramatic exhibition, while the latter bears the semblance of a real scene.

But it was on this ground that the ceremonial worship of the Greek church was purposely selected for the use of the Russian nation. The deputies of the Grand Duke Vladomir, the first sovereign who received baptism, were sent in the tenth century to examine and inquire into the

practice of the different Christian churches, in order to recommend that form of adoption which should appear to them most worthy of imitation. Upon their return they presented their report, in which they gave an account of their having proceeded to Germany and to Bulgaria, where they witnessed the celebration of the Roman Catholic service in all its splendor: after this, of their having visited Constantinople for the purpose of inspecting the rites of the Greeks: they attended the high mass and heard the chant, and their choice was at once decided; "we know not," said they, "how to express by words the sublimity of what we have seen and heard; this far surpasses all the rest; we thought ourselves transported to heaven itself."

Their account was perfectly satisfactory to the court, and it only remained to convert the nation to the same way of thinking. From pagans they were simply to be made christians, and this was a matter of no difficulty to a despot: the people instantly re-

ceived orders to adopt the new religion ; all idolaters were declared enemies of Jesus Christ and of the grand duke ; while on a stated morning, the inhabitants of the capital were commanded to assemble on the river side, and, without farther preparation, submit to baptism. Not a murmur occurred ; “ If it were not good for us,” they cried, “ our prince and the boiars (nobles) “ would not have decreed it so.” It was in vain that the angry god Peroun was said to have started in the dead of the night from the waves of the Volkoff, and to have thrown his club against the bridge of Novogorod, accompanied with heavy denunciations of vengeance against the apostates. He, the mighty Jupiter of the *Slaves*, so lately the object of their prayers, was now almost every where neglected. The grand duke had spoken, and his voice must be obeyed.

The effect of the Russian religion upon the mass of the people, though it impresses them with a solemn awe of the Supreme

Being, and in other respects is not without its use with regard to doctrines of obedience, and of self-denial, has yet very little influence on their moral conduct. It may be questioned, perhaps with propriety, whether it is in its nature well calculated for this end : the quibble on the procession of the Holy Ghost ; the crossing from the right breast instead of the left ; the use of pictures, with no other part but the drapery in relief, because image worship is forbidden, are so many evidences, that the chief character of the church consists in observance of punctilio. But even were this not the case, the ignorance and degradation of the lower classes in this country is such as almost to extinguish every generous feeling that could serve to assist the operation of their religious faith.

Another reason may be found by some, perhaps, in the vicious lives of their instructors. The priests are, it is true, a race that hold a rank in society not much above the lowest ; that associate with the vulgar



herd alone ; that give indulgence to their own passions, conniving at the evil practices of others, and few of whom deserve a higher character than public estimation has generally allotted to them. A circumstance also which tends perpetually to keep up this mischief is that the profession descends levitically from father to son, and they are consequently often brought up in a state of hereditary ignorance and vice. I have heard a story related of a priest in the government of Smolensko, who, being unable to read, performed his functions constantly by rote and repetition. The seigneur of the village having good ground for suspecting his deficiency, requested him one day to introduce a certain new prayer into the service from one of the different liturgies admitted in the church. The priest learnt it by heart, and so far obeyed : he then was requested to change it for the substitutional one that followed ; the ignorant wretch affected to acquiesce, but, in fact, went on as before, repeating over and over

again the same. Instances of actual incapacity for the sacerdotal office are, nevertheless, not very common, except in the more remote provinces; and it is in the rank of the seculars alone, we must observe, that ignorance is to be found. The monks are well educated, and many of the higher dignitaries of the church (for these are all selected from the monasteries) are men of great literary character and attainments.

In order to prevent immoral practices among the seculars, they are not only allowed to marry, but enjoined to enter the matrimonial state on taking a parochial cure, and even obliged to quit their benefice if they become widowers. As to the provision made for them, tithes are abolished, and the clergy depend on the produce of certain domains belonging to the body at large; the administration of which was taken into the hands of the crown during the short reign of Peter III. stated annual stipends being distributed to them.

Their official fees, however, are not inconsiderable, and besides the sums gained in this way, they are paid largely by the noblemen, at whose houses they attend to celebrate private mass: their time is, in great measure, taken up by this duty, for the wealthier orders hardly ever make their appearance in the public churches, almost every family having a private chapel at home.

Since we have touched on the religious sentiments of these classes of society, it may not be amiss to say something of the morality of the higher, which seems to me to have been the subject with various writers of much misrepresentation. There are many families at Petersburg, as will be allowed by all, where the girls are brought up with the utmost regularity and attention, and I hope it will not savour too strongly of national prejudice if I should say in the English mode. But to speak more at large, we should draw an inference favourable to their ~~more~~ *more* from the nature

of the distinctions and parties of society ; and when we see a line drawn that separates conjugal infidelity from the general resort of those who know how to value the real luxury of a domestic state, we acknowledge a feeling unknown to the lascivious climate of the south, and which proves, beyond all possibility of contradiction, that the real basis of social life and virtue is here maintained. I have confined my remarks to the female sex, as the same may not, with equal propriety, be said of the men ; but the character of the female world once established in any country, debauchery, it may be affirmed, meets with an almost impassable limit.

But a certain degree of superstition is to be seen even among the people of education. It was impossible not to feel a degree of pity, though at the same time it was a pleasing sight, to behold the amiable and lovely princesses making pilgrimage to the monasteries of Sarai or Mermest ; labours that were the offspring of some holy

vow undertaken for the sake of those who were now absent in the war, a father, a husband, a brother, or a lover. Nor are these signs the only traces of over-pious weakness that were to be observed ; it is common to meet with those who never dare to inhabit a house where a person, however distantly related, may have expired. Numerous changes of habitation, for this reason, perpetually take place at Petersburg, the family mansion losing its hereditary proprietor. Others have singular notions about the ominous presage that attends the giving salt at table ; and on more serious occasions, a sick man receiving the cup from the priest is not allowed to eat or drink, or even to take physic, for six hours after the ceremony ; many persons obstinately refuse to pollute the sacrament by receiving any food into their stomachs after its administration, and the consequences that ensue may be surmised.

Every sect of religion is tolerated by the government, or rather admitted with indif-

ference. Of the *rasholnicks* (schismatics) from the established church there are some few communities; the greater part being those who apostatised on the introduction of the modern edition of the Bible put forth by the patriarch Nikon, in the seventeenth century. They are remarkable for a more scrupulous observance of the ceremonies enjoined in the old forms, particularly of days of fast and rules of abstinence; among the last of which, the forbearance from tobacco, in conformity with the ancient injunctions of the clergy, is rigidly enforced. They do not form any where a very numerous class, and have chiefly met with success among the poor, because their priests afford confession at a cheaper rate than those of the established church, and by other practices of a like description.

Disputes on doctrinal points are not likely to arise very frequently: the only translation of the Bible that is permitted is one written in the old Slavonic language, with an admixture of Greek; and though

the Russe is also a Slavonic tongue, yet this antiquated dialect is as unintelligible to a modern Russian as the Latin language to an Italian of the present day. We may collect that the public curiosity is awake, however, to speculation, from the late successful publication of one of Ancillon's philosophical works. It was translated into Russian with comments by Theophanes, bishop of Casan, and was bought up with avidity; but the book received an answer, and its principles were ably controverted by Philarete, bishop of Novogorod, upon which a violent rejoinder ensued from the other side. After this matters proceeded no farther, for an imperial ukase appeared which put an end to the paper war, by entirely prohibiting the sale of Theophanes's book, while the bishop himself, after a sharp reprimand from the synod, was confined to his diocese.

It is in this way, notwithstanding the avowed principle of toleration, the unlimited authority of the crown sometimes is

known to interfere in religious matters ; nor is it a measure of lenity or moderation that is usually resorted to, but the command is made in the same authoritative tone as that which enjoined their first conversion to Christianity. We have an instance of this severity in the punishment of Prince Galitzin, an apostate to the Roman Catholic religion during the reign of the Empress Anne. The unfortunate nobleman was forced to marry a woman of low extraction, and his espousals were celebrated with every circumstance of burlesque pomp that the utmost stretch of satirical ingenuity could invent. The bride and bridegroom were carried in a cage of iron on the back of an elephant, followed by a procession of rustics two by two, habited in the costumes of the various nations of Siberia. On their arrival at the place of destination, they were conducted to a sumptuous edifice of ice, adorned with columns, and porticoes, and domes. A salute of ordnance was fired from pieces



made of the same substance, while every article of furniture, even to the nuptial couch on which they were constrained to pass the night, was framed of this cold material.

In another case that occurred within the present reign, an act of coercion of no less imperious a nature was adopted, but it was an example that really demanded the most immediate and peremptory measures. A sect of enthusiasts had sprung up in the government of Moscow, who, in a spirit of misinterpretation almost incredible, "made themselves," as they said, "eunuchs for the kingdom of Heaven's sake." So strong was the first burst of enthusiasm, that they gained a large body of proselytes, some of whose beardless faces were now to be seen in the Exchange at Petersburg; but the affair soon became public, and government taking cognizance of the sect, prevented (it was said) the farther dissemination of their doctrine by the irresistible operation of the knout.

Privation is the essential doctrine of the church: "*Que les Russes ne savent prendre le ciel que par famine,*" is an old saying; and in truth the length of their regular fasts fully justifies the remark: at Lent seven weeks of abstinence are enjoined by the Greek church,—the same from the first week after the Pentecost to St. John the Baptist, then again, fourteen days before the Assumption, and forty days before Christmas; during which times animal food and sexual intercourse are rigorously forbidden. The first of these periods is terminated by the performance of several ceremonies relating to the history of the death of our Saviour, much in the same fashion as those exhibited by the Roman church in the course of Passion week; but on Easter even the whole is wound up with one that is peculiar to themselves, and, perhaps, the most striking and imposing spectacle ever invented by the votaries of religion.

A representation of the sacred tomb is

exposed to the people during the whole of the evening, and at night the resurrection is made the subject of formal annunciation in all the churches throughout the empire. In order to witness this extraordinary sight, we entered the Casan church at a late hour; the nave, the aisles, in short every part, was crowded to suffocation with an host of devotees; thousands of lighted tapers (for each bore one in his hand) glittered over the whole area, spreading an illumination as bright as noon. As the hour of twelve approached, all eyes were earnestly bent on the sanctuary, and a dead silence reigned throughout; at length the door opened, when there issued forth a long train of banners, crosses, &c.; with archimandrites, protopopes, and priests of all ranks, dressed in their sumptuous robes of embroidered silk, covered with gold and silver, and jewels; they moved slowly through the crowd, and went out from the doors of the church as if to search for the body of our Lord; in a few minutes the

insignia were seen again, on their return, floating above the heads of the mob, along the nave; and when the archbishop had regained the altar, he pronounced with a loud voice, *Christos volseress*, "Christ is risen." At that instant the hymn of praise commenced, and a peal of ordnance from the fortress re-echoed the joyful tidings through the city. The world of Mongiks now saluted and congratulated one another in turn, for the days of fasting were at an end; tables spread with provisions in a short time made their appearance in the church: the forbidden meats were tasted with eager appetite, and a feast of gluttony, that annually proves fatal to some of the followers of this religion, took place of penance and prayer.

A second carnival of one week succeeded this day, and afforded, though in a different way, a spectacle no less gratifying to strangers. The Isaac Platz was filled with people, drinking quass and *kislistchi*, visiting puppet-shows or rope-dancers, enjoying

themselves in the *tcherkeli* or roundabout, and following each other in succession down the slope of the summer-hills. This last is one of their most favourite amusements: the apparatus consists of a scaffold between thirty or forty feet high, with an inclined plane in front, constructed in imitation of the ice-hills, the ordinary diversion of the winter season. It is tastefully adorned with flowers and boughs of trees, amidst which an amateur of the sport is hurried in a small narrow cart on four wheels; descending the steep, and traversing with the impulse a level stage below, of some hundred feet in length, though not with quite so great assurance of security as in the course of the above-mentioned diversion. The empress Catherine II. indeed narrowly escaped with her life from an accident that happened at the summer-hills of Oranienbaum. One of the wheels of the cart being caught against the side of the groove in which it moved, she would have been precipitated from the scaffold, if

Orlof had not fortunately been present, and, by the strength of his powerful arm, succeeded in arresting the cart in its descent.

The infinite variety of gay colour and costume exhibited by a Russian mob adds to the pleasure of the scene, and besides the novelty of the aspect in this point, it excites the astonishment of a foreigner to behold these stout majestic men, with solemn beards and placid countenances, sliding down these hills in go-carts, or whirled round one after the other in the light round-about, or (as permission is universally given in this week) jingling the church bells as an act of serious devotion. But still more singular is the charm produced by the sight of so vast a concourse of people all still and quiet. No quarrels interrupt the sport, no outcries are heard : an universal face of merriment and good humour unceasingly prevails, and every where accompanied with the same noiseless appearance. A sight that forms a

strong contrast with the loud mirth of an Italian, or the joyous boisterousness of an English mob. But with the forced and artificial Russian, even their quantum of gladness is regulated by the strict order of the police.

The presentation of an egg in sign of the termination of the fast, is the usual compliment of the season among the people of all ranks, high or low; the handsomest are made of porcelain, and it is a gift generally made to the fair sex. The lady in complaisance grants the donor permission to kiss her hand, which, on his rising, is returned according to the graceful mode of Russian salutation, on the gentleman's cheek. By old established custom, no lady of any rank whatsoever can refuse the salute to the meanest person in the streets that does but make her the offer of an egg.

April 19.—Soon after Easter a new cause of congratulation arose. The affairs of Troyes, Laon, Rheims, Arcis-sur-Aube, la Fere Champenoise, had followed in ra-

pid succession, and on this day the arrival of an estafette from France brought the news of the battle fought under the heights of Montmartre, and of the subsequent capitulation of Paris; together with the information that Buonaparte had abdicated the crown of France.

Nothing could exceed the demonstrations of public joy on this glorious termination of the campaign. The national glory was concerned, and the emperor was the reputed chief of the coalition, therefore a *Te Deum* was ordered to be celebrated in honour of the event, and public illuminations prepared. On the day of the appointed *fête* again we repaired to the cathedral church of the Virgin of Casan; it was now another scene,—illuminated with fashion and rank, and youth and beauty, and all the costly magnificence of the Russian court. In the centre, below the dome, stood the Empress Dowager, the Grand Duchess Anna Paulowna, Duchess of Wirtemberg, with the queen and prin-




cesses of Georgia and Mingrelia, the ladies of the household, and the female nobility of the country. Splendid jewels, rich brocades, shawls of Cashmir, united their dazzling hues, and formed a *coup-d'œil* splendid beyond conception. Behind stood the citizens' wives attired in crimson velvet, with gold borders, and other dresses not less costly or profuse of decoration. The corps diplomatique, the representatives of the allied courts of Europe, held the left of the altar ; and the officers of the emperor, in their appropriate uniforms of the civil and military lines, occupied the lower part of the area.

All being duly arranged, the ceremony commenced with the official bulletin, which was read by a general officer ; after this succeeded a priest with a few verses from the Testament, then the Litany, and then a special thanksgiving ; next the *Te Deum*, the prayer for the emperor and each of the imperial family, &c. This done, the grand chamberlain, stepping forward, con-

ducted the empress to the door of the altar, where she prostrated herself three times before the Virgin ; the grand duchess followed, and went through the same ceremony with an air of grace inexpressibly striking. The priests were now presented in succession to the empress to kiss her hand ; the bishop received from her the kiss on the cheek in return, and with this the whole was closed.


It added not a little to the effect of these solemn ceremonies, that they were performed under the same roof where reposed the ashes of Kutusow and Moreau, amidst walls decked on every side with the trophies of Russian valour, the eagles and standards wrested from the French legions, the proud memorials of Taratina, of Malojarslavetz, Krasnoi, Lutzen, and Bautzen\*, which

\* Among the most remarkable were the *bâton* of Davoust taken at Krasnoi, and the vexillum of the 10th cohort of the national guard, taken in the campaign of the last year.



were now about to be united to the recent tokens of still more glorious victory.

The public illuminations were ordered for three nights, and the inhabitants of Petersburg exhibited every device which their ingenuity and munificence could devise. It was indeed an endless and ever-varying blaze: but in conformity with the general system no transparency or inscription could be set up without permission, and even the effusions of loyalty were placed under the eye of the police. An unfortunate pastry-cook, neglecting this precaution, nearly involved himself in a dilemma, by a picture which appeared in his window. He had represented the initial letter of Alexander surrounded with a little wreath of A's entwined, which was intended as an allegorical allusion to the *a-liés* or *alliés*, rallying round his sovereign. The device at least was harmless; a compliment, as the *pieman* averred, neither ill-meant or ill-executed. The police, however, hold other



matters of greater weight than simple argument; it might be, no fees were offered, but certainly, from some reason or other, the unfortunate transparency was ordered to be removed. In respect of more vulgar exhibitions of public feeling, a licence and liberty, such as we had not before witnessed, was allowed on this occasion, and the "greasy crowd," (for they are greasy) raised a confused sound of hurrah in every street through which the imperial carriages passed.

The fortunate issue of this war had hitherto accumulated every species of honour on the head of the emperor, and of him alone; no individual employed in the civil or military services could stand forward to challenge any competition with him in the public estimation. None of his generals, though men highly distinguished, had enjoyed a distinct command, at least of any consequence; while the minister Romanzow, (whom no one would consider partial to English politics) in spite

of the tender of his resignation, had constantly been retained as minister of foreign affairs. The emperor was all in all ; abroad the sole ostensible agent, at home the sole depository of the vows, the prayers, and the hopes of his country.

A profusion of compliments, as may be supposed, were designed to honour his return to the capital : amongst others, the senate was convened for the purpose of decreeing him some new title appropriate to his deserts. The august body debated for three days, with closed doors, on this important and difficult subject ; Italinski, and Crimski, and Donski, and Zadunaiski, were honourable additions to the names of great Russian commanders, drawn not unclassically from the scene of their exploits, but these formed no precedent for the designation of an emperor ; and unfortunately, it appeared, that a redoubtable hero of antiquity had pre-occupied in history the only agnomen suitable to his dignity. At last, however, they came to a

decision, and a motion having for its object the grant of the name of Blagoslovenni (*benedictus*) was carried *nem. contradicente*. A solemn deputation was then ordered to convey to him the respectful resolution of the body, and Kourakin, Soltigov, and Tomasov, set out to meet him on his journey.

Besides the titular honour, it was proposed to commemorate his conduct during this war in a more substantial way, and a subscription was entered into for the purpose of raising a triumphal arch on the road through which his majesty in the following month was expected to approach the city. It was commenced in wood, to be renewed in stone, and an elegant design given by Signor Guarenghi for its construction. But of all these, the most judicious compliment was the offering prepared by the provincial government of Petersburg. They caused to be made two silver salvers, handsomely decorated with emblematical carved work, and on these they intended ~~as~~ soon as he reached the

limits of their jurisdiction, to present his majesty with bread and salt, the old compliments of a Russian welcome. As it finally turned out, the building of the triumphal arch was afterwards stopped by imperial command, the title refused, and the last mentioned was the only tribute of public gratitude which he condescended to accept.

The mention of a certain royal family that swelled the train of the empress dowager may perhaps have created the surprise of some of my readers; nor was it with a light degree of astonishment that we ourselves first beheld them in the court. Independent of the interest attached to the situation in which they were represented to be placed, it was impossible not to notice them from their singularity of air and mien. The princes were handsome men, but the princesses, though not young, displayed features of unparalleled beauty, with fair complexions and eyes of a sparkling black: they were dressed with small

round coifs upon their heads, from which a long white veil, open in front, descended to their feet, lending by its novel fashion a new grace to the elegance of their persons. The cause of the flight of the court of Teflis to Petersburg may be detailed in a few words. The country of Georgia had been long exposed to the intrigues of its two powerful neighbours, Russia and Persia, and became, partly through their means, the constant prey of civil war. The ancient royal family was deposed early in the last century, and though, with a view to tranquillise all existing differences, a *red and white rose* union was brought about by intermarriage with the usurper's family, yet this step afforded only a short repose ; jealousies and factions, gathering strength from intermission, soon broke out with more animosity than before. In the end, finding himself unable to withstand at once the attacks of his domestic as well as foreign enemies, the tsar George Heraclievitch voluntarily surrendered his



kingdom to Paul the Emperor of Russia. In return for this, handsome appointments at the court of Petersburg were by stipulation to be provided, and in the year 1801, he, with his whole family, arrived at Moscow. It was reserved, however, for the Emperor Alexander to fulfil this contract, which was done as soon as the confused state of things at the death of the late emperor would allow, and Georgia is in consequence now placed under the administration of a Russian governor.

The rigour of the season, which we had felt in the preceding winter at Stockholm, had been extended with more than equal severity to this place; the mercury in the thermometer was observed at  $33^{\circ}$  of Reaumur, or  $74^{\circ}$  below the freezing point of Fahrenheit, in the month of January last, being at least eight or ten degrees lower than in an ordinary year. Upon this many precautionary measures were adopted by the care of the police. The public stoves set up in various parts of the city

were of course kept constantly lighted, and the theatres ordered to be shut, as is always done when the cold reaches 20°. On the day of its greatest excess, guards were stationed on the side of the town towards Cronstadt, in order to prevent any, of the poor classes from attempting a passage over the ice to that place: so long a journey without shelter would infallibly prove fatal to any person attempting it on foot, particularly those whose clothing was not of the warmest kind; and no one, I should add, in Russia is allowed to hazard a life that, if no intermediate claimant occurs, at any rate belongs to the emperor.

The hospitals abounded with miserable objects, frost-bitten in their extremities, and the lives of several people were daily sacrificed. This season, however, to mention the blessings as well as curses of the climate, was reckoned extremely advantageous to the poor; it had not been interrupted by a single day's thaw, so that they kept their provisions for the frozen

market during the whole of the winter untainted, and these articles form with a large class their chief dependence for their livelihood.

It may not be here unapplicable to remark, that the ice of the river was a foot less in thickness than usual, the average being for the most part about one yard; so plentiful a coating of snow had fallen upon it early in the winter, as in great measure to afford protection against the increased action of the frost.

The snow might be expected therefore to be accumulated to an enormous extent, but neither was this the case, nor indeed can it very well take place at any time; for the constant evaporation carried on from every part of its surface diminishes its bulk to an extraordinary degree, and I seldom observed it, unless within a few days after a very heavy fall, to lie at a depth of more than one foot in any open spot.

In the habitations of the wealthier classes

the rooms are kept at an unvarying temperature of about  $14^{\circ}$  + during the winter by means of stoves ; a practice that serves effectually to restore the perspiration if it has been checked by staying out of doors, as well as provides a remedy for any want of tone which the body may have acquired. There is no need to enlarge upon this subject ; it is undoubtedly true that the constitution is not so liable to catarrh and complaints of that nature here as in the more temperate climate of England, however our English prejudices may be inclined to condemn the means.

In fact, the nice observance of cold, and the means of defending the body from its attacks, are as much a matter of study and science in these parts as that of guarding against excess of heat is become in the south : it is only in the countries situate between these extremes, where the obligation is not so imperative, that danger on such points arises from ignorance and neglect. It is surprising indeed to a stranger

in Russia to hear people of the lowest orders of life, and even the very peasants of the country, talking with the utmost familiarity of the degrees of the thermometer, with remarks of such a description as in another country none but a man well informed in other respects could attempt to make.

As to the nature of the Russian climate, it is not subject to much variation when the season has once commenced, nor is the atmosphere overcharged with moisture, seldom indeed except at the turn of the seasons ; but the change from hot to cold is infinitely more abrupt, and a decrease of 34° of Fahrenheit in the course of a single night is not uncommon.

The experience of a winter like that of this year calls to recollection the extravagant humours of the late Emperor Paul, who, even in the depth of the season, forbade his officers the use of any sort of pelisses, and published, moreover, an ukase, enjoining all men, civil or military, to

stand still and unbutton and open their coats or cloaks as he passed by, in order to see whether they were dressed in conformity with his whimsical regulations. The stories which were in circulation respecting his orders were such as would scarcely obtain belief from those who are unacquainted with the nature of imperial government. An English merchant, who had accidentally neglected the observance of this rule, was instantly attacked by the police: he pleaded in excuse, that he laboured under the misfortune of a short sight, and had not, which was really the case, observed the emperor's carriage as it approached. On this ground the threatened punishment was remitted; but the next morning an ukase came out, ordering Mr. B—— never to stir abroad again without spectacles, and the police were charged to see the decree put in execution.

Without being exposed to the unpleasant effect of such ordinances, it was with no small pleasure that we beheld the first

symptoms of the return of milder weather. In the beginning of April the snow carpeting of the streets shewed signs of decay, and the stones of purple granite, or, as they are called, the violets of Petersburg, began to shew themselves; it was not, however, a vernal season that succeeded, but one, to conjecture from our feelings, that bore much the same temperature as an ordinary winter in England.

April 14.—The masses of ice on some of the higher parts of the river now began to separate, and large flakes were perceived passing with the current\* underneath the frozen surface of the river near the town; for here it was yet entire, since the frequent roads and paths that crossed it in every direction gave it a harder and firmer consistence. At length the pools of water produced from the influence of the

\* It is this circumstance which proves so destructive to the piers and foundations of buildings on the river side, cutting to pieces the timbers, and frequently, by its buoyancy, tearing them up.

sun on the surface began to disappear, the ice assumed a grey colour, and indicated the approach of the great event, that was regarded with so much earnestness—the breaking up of the Neva.

On the 18th of this month the police, ever careful of the lives of his imperial majesty's subjects, were observed to station their guards on the river side to prevent any person from adventuring across, and a severe beating was the sure punishment to any one whose rashness tempted him to hazard the experiment. We were soon convinced they were no mean judges with regard to time: on the nineteenth, at seven o'clock in the morning, fresh symptoms of the expected dissolution became visible. The quays were lined with spectators, and many a wager on the first parting of the great sheet was to be lost and won. Presently portions of ice in the centre of the river began to sink, the holes rapidly increased, in a few minutes the mass split in



various directions, and every part was at once set in motion, grating and tearing flake against flake under the heavy pressure of the current.

From this moment the three quarters of the city were entirely cut off from communication with each other; the passage for boats was not only attended with danger, but actually prohibited, and the bridges were useless, being always loosened at one end, and parting with the stroke of the ice to one side or the other, so as to afford no obstruction to the stream.

In the course of three days, however, the river became tolerably clear, and at twelve o'clock on the 22d a salute was fired from the fortress to announce the passage of the governor and suite, who annually presents a goblet of pure river water to the emperor, or, in case of his absence, to any of the family resident at the palace. After this form was gone through, the ferrymen dashed fearlessly through the stream, each

striving with emulation to be the first to reach the opposite shore, and a free passage was open to all.

On the 1st of May, a day which is kept as a *fête* throughout the North, a promenade is made *en voiture* to Catherinoff, whither the empress and all the gay world repair in mutual congratulation to hail the first burst of the genial season. The ceremony was this year at least premature. Vegetation, as yet, shewed itself but scantily; on the hills of Finland, and the higher grounds towards the south of the city, some slight symptoms of verdure were to be traced: but the plains below were on every side still covered with the same mantle of brown.

On the 15th a cruel reverse took place: the weather, which never is said to be settled till the ice from the Ladoga has come down, was disturbed by the blast of a northerly wind: the surface of the river was in a few hours again strewed with icy

flakes, that reached in continuance from the mouth of the lake to the sea shore, chilling the air for many a mile, and bringing with them a second winter. Their passage was accompanied by a fall of snow and a hard frost, both highly unacceptable, though no more than had been predicted by those acquainted with the climate, who always, indeed, speak of the shock of this season as more prejudicial to the health than the rigour of all the previous winter. After this, to our inexpressible delight, the river again grew clear. It was indeed a fortunate event, for the duration of the passage of the ice is various, sometimes lasting for a fortnight, or even longer. It must be at all times uncertain; for it is obvious, only a small part of the immense mass that covers the Ladoga can be conveyed through the comparatively narrow channel of the Neva: the rest is broken on its shore, and melted down as the season advances; but of course, as long as the

northerly breeze continues, the river is always served with a constant supply from above. The appearance of these flakes is worth observing: their surface is completely honey-combed, and their texture is so rotten as to yield to the slightest concussion; on being taken into the hand they separate into small thin spicula, perhaps formed by the melting of the snow, that before overspread them.

When all this had passed away, the bridges were again established, and we began to congratulate ourselves on the assurance of the times. Among other symptoms of the improvement of the weather, one in which we felt most interested was the arrival of the mails from England; for upwards of thirty-six were now due, an arrear almost unprecedented in the course of any former winter.

May 29.—Spring and autumn are seasons that might be well omitted in the Russian calendar; from summer to winter, or winter to summer, is only one step.

Scarcely had a complete week now elapsed when the trees, that before hardly shewed their buds, were clothed in full leaf, and afforded a refreshing shelter against the sun, whose rays were already too warm to be agreeable: and the face of nature was every where renewed to a state of beauty, of which one had almost lost the remembrance. In the fervency of the ostentatious gratitude that characterises the Russian church, the verdure annually receives a solemn benediction; the places of worship, as well as private houses, are filled with the consecrated boughs borne by the devotees; and on the first Sunday after Ascension-day, the same priests, who poured their blessing on the frozen water in the winter\*, hail, with similar ceremonies, the summer vegetation. The *fête* was farther solemnized by another promenade to Catherinoff as before: coaches, droshkas, landaus, caleches, every carriage that could

\* This is performed on the 6th of January, O. S.

be produced, was pressed into service, and by the returns it appeared that above 2000 made their appearance in the procession. The eternally vexatious police were again in attendance, and they preserved the strictest order, not to say most tiresome regularity: all the carriages were ranged in lines passing and repassing, and while perpetually watched by the corps of spies, it was impossible, on any excuse, to change our direction. On the following day was a promenade on foot in the summer garden which was much more agreeable, as not being confined by the same regulations.

Perhaps the greatest singularities in a spectacle of this sort are the numerous decorations of Russian knighthood, which seem worn by persons of all ranks and descriptions: St. Andrew, St. Catherine, St. Alexander Newsky, St. George, St. Vladimir, St. Anne, and the cross of Malta; with all their several classes and gradations. Some military officers, lately returned from Paris, appeared to carry a complete *bou-*

quet of ribbons on their breasts. *Chevalier de plusieurs ordres*, or even *de tous les ordres de l'empire*, is not a title very uncommon : the great cross of St. Andrew indeed gives right to wear all the other insignia, except the first of St. George. This may be called perhaps the most honourable badge of merit that any European sovereign has it in his power to bestow in reward of services ; by the rules of its institution, it can only be granted to those officers who have won a general battle as commander in chief ; and had been worn by only four knights previous to the investiture of Kutusow. Other decorations are granted with such profusion as to challenge but little distinction for their wearer ; one, indeed, of the emperor's valets is adorned with the fourth class of a most respectable order.

The Maltese cross used to be sold for a stipulated sum, and was bought and worn, not only by men young and old, but also by several chevaleresque ladies resident at Petersburg. But the validity of the right,

by which the honour can be conferred by the emperor is liable to some question: the claimants to the grand-mastership of the order of St. John were more than one, and the Emperor Paul's title none of the strongest. He was called to the vacant dignity (in pursuance of his own recommendation) by an irregular chapter, composed of a few accidental chevaliers at Petersburg, at the time when the French, finding themselves unable to keep possession of Malta, made a cession of it to Russia just as it was about to yield to the British arms. This mock election was followed by the ridiculous farce of despatching Count Litta a few miles out of the town, with directions to return in quality of an ambassador from the knights of Malta, declaring himself charged with full power to invest his imperial majesty with the insignia of the title he so much coveted. The self-appointed envoy was received in due form at the palace, and the emperor, being completely satisfied with his creden-



tials, immediately entered upon the functions of his new office, distributing crosses, grand crosses, and pennyless commanderies without reserve.

The objects of curiosity at Petersburg are numerous: the winter gardens of the Taurida Palace, and the hanging gardens of the *Palais d'Hyver*, as well as those of Prince Gazarin, are true specimens of Russian luxury. The former is a shrubbery planted with evergreens, inclosed in a saloon of prodigious dimensions, and has been often described; the latter are parterres open to the sky above, and warmed below by heated flues; they are generally raised on terraces to the level of the first or second story of the house; whither having mounted, the stranger, to his great surprise, finds himself ushered into shady walks, and trees, and groves.

The Mikhail Palace, built by Paul, is singular only for its whimsical taste, and as the scene of the murder of its founder. The imperial palaces of Czarskoselo, Ora-

nienbaum, and Peterhof, have but little claim to distinction; they are spacious country seats built from the designs of foreign architects, with gardens in the English style. It is scarcely worthy of remark that at the last we were shewn the picture of the naval engagement in Tchesmi Bay; the same for the sake of which a ship of 300 tons was bought and set on fire at Leghorn, by the order of Catherine II., that her painter might learn to represent, in true colours, the explosion that occurred during this celebrated battle. What his unassisted imagination would have produced is a difficult problem to resolve, perhaps nothing better; but here he certainly has completely failed in his undertaking.

June 1.—Finding ourselves on the coast of Oranienbaum, we embarked for Cronstadt, from the same shore whence Peter III. once set sail for this fortress, upon the breaking out of the conspiracy of his consort. Being furnished with permission from the governor (for without this we should, like

his majesty, have met with a rebuff) we were admitted, and carried to view the town, the harbour, and the fortifications.

It is a naval station, situated conveniently enough for the protection of Petersburg, at about 10 leagues distance: there are two passages which lead to the mouth of the Neva, one on the north, the other on the south, both commanded by islands strongly fortified. Of these the fort of Cronslot is the most considerable: it is formed by a pentagonal rampart, rising directly from the water, with two tier of embrasures for cannon; the whole constructed in solid masonry of granite, of which material, indeed, all the works are now renewed that were originally built by Peter I. of wood.

The arsenal and docks of Cronstadt are similarly fortified towards the sea, having the appearance of great strength; though on the side of the west, looking to the remaining part of the island, the place is very slenderly defended.

The display of shipping was not very

large: about 30 English vessels lay in the Merchant's Mole; on the other side were eight Russian sail of the line, and one more was in dock; but to complete the exhibition, the fleet now on its voyage from England was expected to arrive in the course of the month. We were shewn the camels, as they are called, which are used for the ships launched at the docks of Petersburg, in order to enable them to surmount the bar at the river mouth: they consisted of two immense wooden *caissons*, made to fit on each side, so as to embrace the hull of the ship; for that purpose they are filled with water, then sunk, and grappled on; this done, the water is pumped out, and the whole mass buoyed up together, so as to lessen the draught by many feet. These machines are not unique of their kind; the same are in use at Hamburg, and they were adopted in a certain way by the French at Venice, to carry their ships over the *lagunes*, with their ordnance and ammunition on board, at the time they were in

danger from the activity of the English cruisers in the vicinity.

The docks at Cronstadt are cut in the shape of a cross, with a bason in the centre : each of the three arms is made capable of receiving two ships, one ahead of the other, the fourth being left clear for the entrance : the whole was lined with granite, and provided with the requisite apparatus of pumps. The construction of their ships is not a charge of so light a nature to the Russian government as might be expected, except in the case of those furnished from the dockyard at Archangel, which are entirely of fir ; but oak is used at Cronstadt, and is very expensive, on account of the distance whence it is brought, coming chiefly from the province of Casan. The actual cost to government I have no means of ascertaining : the merchant vessels are generally calculated about 100 R. per ton ; which is cheap in comparison of what is generally paid in England, but not so low as might be supposed on the coast of the Baltic,

from the traffic that in some parts has occasionally been carried on in the article of ship-building. Complaints are raised here also, as with us, of the defective nature of the timber employed in the dock-yards: their ships last, on an average, about fourteen years; nevertheless, in one or two instances, they have been condemned and broken up after a service of only four.

It is remarkable that the timber of many of the old wooden dwellings, built in the time of Peter the Great, have frequently been found perfectly sound, even to the day of their being pulled down, appearing, even now, much more likely to resist decay than any that have been used within the last twenty or thirty years. It may be said, however, and perhaps with truth, that only those houses where the timber was originally of the best quality have thus defied the lapse of years, and remained for the inspection of succeeding architects.

With regard to the ordnance one pecu-

liarity may be mentioned, that the pieces are furnished with a small spike on the ring of the muzzle, elevated so as to give the line of vision from the breech exactly parallel with the bore of the piece: a similar scheme is generally adopted in the English carronades for the sea service. But this provision seems to have been made in all the old Russian cannon, even of the reign of Ivan IV., of which sufficient examples are seen in the imperial arsenal. Here, also, another ingenious contrivance, equally adapted for acquiring precision in firing at an horizontal range, is displayed in some of their artillery, a few of which, calculated for balls of three or four pounds weight, were made with rifle barrels. They were evidently, by their shape, of some antiquity, and one bore the date of the reign of Michael Feodorowitz in the 16th century, a period certainly long anterior to the use of the rifle-barrelled guns in the rest of Europe. We were told that the invention had been long known in certain parts of

Russia, and the peasants in the government of Olonetz, who are celebrated as marksmen, were said to have had among them fowling-pieces on this construction long before that time.

Having mentioned these instances of Russian ingenuity, it is not unfair to state a circumstance which does not reflect much credit on the skill of their workmen. About the beginning of the month, the greatest part of the plaster ornaments of the ceiling of the Casan church fell down, leaving the vault in many places quite bare. The accident happened to the infinite joy of the foreigners employed in the architectural line, and discomfiture of the natives ; but the fact was that the iron claws, necessary to sustain the coffer and roses in the several compartments of the roof, had been made too small, either through knavish parsimony or ignorance and neglect. If the former was the case, persons employed deserve serious punishment from the police, as the lives of his imperial ma-



jesty's subjects were endangered thereby: if the latter, it must be confessed it was done in the usual style of Russian workmanship, in every line and branch; for though any specimen is imitated to the eye with wonderful neatness and precision, yet the solidity or durability, inseparable from the productions of a well practised artizan, are qualities neither known nor thought of.

## SECTION IV.

FROM PETERSBURG TO MOSCOW AND  
SMOLENSKO.

Road of Peter I.—Peasantry—Criminal Justice—Novgorod the Great—Tartar Cottages—Barrows, &c.—Valdai—Canal of Vishni Volotchok—Communications with Siberia—Twer—Approach of the French in 1812—Alarm in these Districts, and again at the Capital—Mistaken Expectations of the French—Devotion of the Nobles and the People—State of Affairs kept secret at Moscow—Sudden Arrival of the French—Conflagration—Present Appearance of Moscow—Anecdotes of Sufferers during the Occupation—Condition of the French Army—Kremlin: Part destroyed by Explosion—Extraordinary Instance of Superstition—Magnificence of the Kremlin—Imperial Coronation, &c.—Mode of living among the Nobles—Trade of Moscow with Boukhara, &c.—Devitchi Nunnery—Repairs of the City since the Conflagration—Relief afforded to the Inhabitants—Conduct of the Peasantry—Evacuation of Moscow—Return of the Russian Troops, &c.—Mojaisk—Field of Borodino—Viasma—Inveteracy of the Rustics against the French—Difficulties of the Retreat—Stand made at Dorogobusch—

Misery of the French—Cruelty of the Russian Peasants—Smolensko—Disorganised State of the French Army—Its Cause and Consequence.

JUNE 12.—We had for some time been in preparation to leave Petersburg; our names, as is necessary, had been advertised three times in the gazette, our *podaroshna* or order for horses procured, and our passports had gone through all the tedious formalities required by the regulations of the police: we set out, therefore, on this day on our journey for Moscow. A few versts from the city barriers introduced to our notice the wooden road constructed by Peter the Great to his new built city: it is of singular construction, an elevated causeway, carried in one long, level, unvarying, straight line for many a league, over marsh and bog, and through thick forests of birch and fir. On each side is an esplanade, cleared for the breadth of about a hundred yards, for the accommodation of cattle coming up for market, and the same provision is made by law on all

the great provincial roads ; by which means the journey, even of two months from the Ukraine to Petersburg, becomes practicable at no expense to the graziers, and without much fatigue or injury to their herd.

The causeway is thus constructed : three poles or sleepers are laid lengthwise on the ground, over these is a flooring of small trees closely compacted and pinned down at the edges with a piece of timber used as a kirb ; in very marshy situations, two such floorings are generally used. The trees are here and there, in villages for instance, neatly joined together ; but in other parts, where the round trunks only occur, the incessant jolting of the carriage over so uneven a surface is the source of many a bruise to the weary traveller. The inhabitants of Russia are too familiar with this inconvenience not to have found means of alleviating it, and they universally fill their travelling carriages with soft pillows taken from their beds, which give a particularly

luxurious though grotesque appearance to their equipages.

We passed two German colonies planted by Catherine, near Petersburg, for the improvement of agriculture; but beyond these settlements every thing was in a state of uncultivated nature.

The roar of the wolves indeed (which we actually heard during the night), a sound scarcely more dissonant than the unceasing song of the shaggy Mougik that drove the carriage, was yet sufficient to afford a hint of the sort of country we were traversing, though only between thirty and forty versts distant from the great metropolis. The inhabitants of these parts, the peasant race, seem as wild savages just caught from the woods, with whom you can only hold converse through the medium of a rouble or a thick stick; either of the two are equally efficacious, and both sometimes necessary. They lie out day and night, sleeping in their sheep-

skins by the road-side, careless of any enjoyment but those of animal existence. Our driver seized a rope, and, as we passed, most soundly thrashed two of these creatures who were asleep before the house door; the hairy brutes awoke, half raised themselves, stared about, but finding the blow was not from their master, and that nothing was required, composed themselves again in the dirt to sleep as before. I have seen an hundred quarrels in Petersburg, but never saw one blow struck, unless by a superior: it is not, indeed, ever held so much a mark of anger, as an assertion of superiority, and where respect is due, is put up with accordingly.

All general occurrences in their routine of life are met with a sort of stupid good humour; and the practical jokes of which this class seem so fond are given and taken in turn.

As contrasted with their rude appearance, it has a singular effect to observe the strict regularity with which they cross

themselves at every church or oratory by the road ; as also to remark the ceremonious salutations they constantly use towards each other on meeting. The meanest Mougik takes off his cap to the meanest Mougik his friend ; he walks hand in hand with him, and kisses him on the cheek when they part, each calling the other by the endearing appellation of brother. In the same way they speak of their master or the emperor, with a sort of filial respect, always coupling with his name the title of father. Regular forms of external courtesy, at least in salutation, occur to one's recollection as being practised by the common people both in Sweden and in Scotland ; but in neither are they manifested so strikingly as here ; they are performed too with a sort of natural ease and grace that render them still more remarkable, and make them appear to savour more in their origin of Eastern pride than of the exotic feelings of European politeness.

A stranger would be inclined almost to

attribute these expressions of fraternal feeling in the Russian boors to a sense of their companionship in misery. It is really painful to humanity to see these miserable rustics chained in pairs, working or begging on the road-side, when, perhaps, their only crime is to have offended the whim of their master. On their part, however, they seem by no means alive to any sentiment of disgrace or degradation ; their situation seldom checks their mirth, but they sing even in their fetters as loudly and noisily as ever.

All those who are so punished are not, nevertheless, to be supposed entirely undeserving of their lot ; many are sentenced for petty thefts, others for their debts, and so on : but they are confounded together, servant, debtor, or malefactor, all in one prison, and sometimes linked in the same chain. The limitation of arrests has been before alluded to ; it is sufficient to add, that personal liberty is held so cheap in



this country, that a debt to the amount of one rouble and a half is sufficient to place a man in a state of confinement.

Corporal punishment, as adjudged by law (it only belongs to these classes) is usually inflicted with the *battorge* or rod on the buttocks; where heavier offences require severer chastisement, the knout is applied. The instrument is a whip made of dried fish-skin cut to a point and fastened on a steel handle; the executioners are said to be so expert in the use of it, that they can inflict a mortal wound with fifteen or twenty blows: this is not often resorted to, and when it is done, it is generally supposed to be under a private injunction from the judge: for the principle of legislation in Russia, like the mistaken clemency of the American government, forbids any tribunal to pass sentence of death upon a malefactor. The regulation here exists in consequence of an ukase of the Empress Anne, by virtue of which the punishment

of 200 lashes with the knout, the tearing off the nostrils\* with red hot pincers, a journey on foot to Siberia, and perpetual condemnation to the mines, is substituted as a more humane species of retribution for capital crimes.

To assist the preservation of order in the country, a civil magistrate, called the Captain Yprasnik, is nominated in every district, being an officer who was intended by Catherine II. to supply the place of a justice of the peace, and he is vested with the same powers as that important functionary in England: but the scheme failed from want of persons properly qualified in point of information as well as character and rank, to take upon themselves the discharge of such duties. The place was not gratuitous, a fixed salary being allowed; from the smallness of which, none but the poorest members of the nobility (men ill

\* This part of the punishment has been abolished by an ukase dated January 27, 1818.

adapted in every way; were found to accept the appointment.

During this part of our route we travelled constantly without stopping except for our meals, for there was no accommodation at the post-houses. But the cool air of the night was at this season extremely refreshing, and as the twilight lasted during the twenty-four hours, we lost little or nothing of the country scenery. This never-ending day I cannot however describe as agreeable; to sleep seems unnatural, and, indeed, the attention is kept too much on the alert to admit of it, and a tedious sameness supersedes the pleasing interchange of morning and evening.

After making 180 versts, we approached *Novgorod Veliki*, Novgorod the Great, a city whose antiquity mounts as high as the fifth century, and one whose splendour under her dukes, as well as subsequent power and wealth under a republican\*

\* The administration of Novgorod very nearly resem-

form of administration, occupy a large portion of the Russian history. The spirit of liberty was once felt and cherished in this nation now so degraded, although it never made those vigorous shoots which it did among the other people of the north. The crown was originally elective, and the *boiars*, of whom we read so much, were a sort of permanent house of peers, without whose advice the czar never dared to act; their influence, both direct and indirect, seems to have been very considerable in the concerns of the empire. They made but little figure, however, after the days of Tartar oppression, when a new system and new ideas seem to have changed the face

bled that of the free cities of Germany at the present day  
The officers were as follows :

*Posadnik* (bourgomaster) annual.

*Tyriatski*, an officer who tempers, by his authority, the exercise of the power of the *posadnik*.

*Boiars* (senators) elected from the citizens.

*Starosta* (police officer).

*Nomestnik*, an officer of the grand duke.

of every thing in Russia : while the absolute power acquired by succeeding sovereigns, rendered necessary indeed by the confusion and anarchy of the times, entirely overwhelmed the small remains of their former authority.

But to return to Novgorod ; though it once contained more than 400,000 inhabitants, and covered an area of 63 versts in circumference, little now is left to remind the traveller of its former grandeur. The streets presented mouldering walls, empty courts, churches in decay, and a few dwellings thinly scattered amidst large void spaces of desolation. We were shewn, however, though it was almost the only relic, a house formerly occupied by Marpha Posadnitza, or widow of the Posadnik, an intriguing heroine, who headed the troops of the city against the hosts of Ivan III., and supported the last efforts that were made by the declining republic : at her decease the liberties of Novgorod were extinguished for ever. But the conqueror,

not content with its humiliation, caused the most horrible massacres to be committed, the consequences of which, together with the atrocious cruelties that succeeded in the reign of Ivan IV., were such as to reduce the great city to its present condition of poverty and insignificance.

The walls of the Kremlin still remain, containing within their circle the church of St. Sophia, with the tombs of Vladomir and Feodor, and the brass gates brought (says Gibbon) from Kherson in the Crimea at the time of Vladomir's expedition against the Greek empire. There were also some curious specimens of architecture as well as of painting, of the date of the 11th or 12th century: the latter have been much celebrated, but I think do not possess any great interest, being apparently retouched, or rather renewed. These matters did not delay us very long; and since our curiosity was not sufficient to tempt us to visit the millstone on which St. Anthony was carried from Rome to his church at

Novgorod, we rested ourselves, repaired our carriage, for it was already become necessary, and continued our route.

Several barrows were to be seen in these stages ; they were, for the most part, situated on the side of the river Msta, varying perpetually in figure and form ; conical, circumvallated, truncated, &c. General tradition attributes their erection to the Tartars ; and the idea is certainly far from improbable, since the troops of the Golden Horde were repulsed by the army of Novgorod somewhere within this district. To the fashion of this same people is ascribed the fantastical taste that adorns the cottages in these parts, which being a style entirely new to us, deserves description. These dwellings are built of large round logs of timber, resembling in construction those we before mentioned in passing through Ingria, and differing only in shape. Their high gable roofs project to an enormous length over the front, sometimes overhanging as much as sixteen or

eighteen feet, profusely carved and adorned with small pendants at the extremities, in the form of which, as well as their collocation, a curious resemblance may be traced between them and the houses in the northernmost parts of the Tyrol; they are similar also in this respect, that the communications in the upper stories are carried on by means of a gallery outside of the wall. I know, however, no reason to account for these coincidences.

On the fourteenth we arrived at Waldai, a modern Polish colony, which exhibits strong traces of its origin in the beauty and complexion of the women. In point of situation, it is an Oasis in the desert; the town itself well built, and placed romantically enough on the banks of a small lake. In the centre of this is a woody island, crowned with the glittering domes of a Greek monastery; and the whole scene around glows with that luxuriant interchange of white and red, and green and



gold, that enters so largely into the composition of a Russian view.

The rising grounds which we had surmounted before our arrival at the town, are denominated in this level country the Waldai mountains. They form, in fact, the highest point of elevation between the Gulf of Finland and the Euxine sea; the rivers taking from hence their course in both directions. Induced by this circumstance, Peter I. looked upon the spot as affording the means of organising a scheme of communication by water between the north and south of his empire. He accordingly opened a canal, which has met with much success since his day, and become the great channel of circulation for the produce of the remotest points. On one side a passage is open through the Twertza and the Volga to Astracan and the Caspian sea: on the other, through the lake Ilmen, the Volkof, the Ladoga, and the Neva, to Petersburg and the Baltic; while again from the east

are conveyed, through this same point, the merchandise of China and produce of the Siberian mines.

This grand scheme, however, was not to be effected without difficulty ; though the ascent and descent to the Twertza on the south was accomplished by ordinary pounds or locks : the fall of ground towards the Msta on the northern side required different management to render it in any way practicable for navigation. But Peter I. was not to be discouraged : in order therefore to provide against the drain of water, which must necessarily take place from both sides of the hill, he constructed an immense reservoir in which was collected all the water from the small lakes in the neighbourhood : and from hence is supplied a stream sufficient to carry the boats down these steeps : as this flows off rapidly, it is necessarily to be husbanded with care, and vessels are only permitted to pass once in eight or ten days, in caravans of 15 or 20 at a time.

The nature of this voyage is curious enough: when they are all assembled, which is done by beat of drum, the sluices are opened, and they follow one another with the flush of water down the precipitous passage, called the Borovitsky falls. A degree of hazard is incurred, and sundry provisions are made for their safety. In the most difficult windings of the river are moored large buoys which throw round the head of the boat when it strikes against them, if their sweeps have failed of their purpose: and in case any accident should occur, the Cossacks who are stationed at certain intervals instantly give notice above, when the sluices are closed, and the supply of the current cut off. This dangerous course continues for near 33 versts; and with a view to their security, each boat is built slight and supple, and the freight set apart by an open space of one or two feet in the middle, so as to give room for the play of the timbers of her frame, which is sometimes so much shaken that the two

sides of the cargo are brought to meet. To remount the cataracts is impossible ; the vessels, therefore, are all burnt for fire-wood at Petersburg.

The conception of such a scheme of navigation is unique of its sort perhaps in the world ; how much, therefore, are we bound to admire the mind of Peter I. that gave it birth, at such a time among such a people. For the sake of comparison with our own country, we may add that the first river made navigable in England was the Thames, under an act of parliament passed in the reign of James I. ; and the first commercial canal which was cut, I believe, was that from the Mersey to St. Helens, at no earlier a period than the middle of the last century.

The route of the caravans mentioned as coming from China and Siberia may excite some curiosity, for they are brought chiefly by water ; from Kiachta they make their voyage by the Selenga and the Baikal, the Angara, Tongouska, Jeneissei ri-

vers, without interruption ; here, however, they are obliged to disembark and travel 60 versts over land to the Kett, whence, by means of the Obi, the Irtisch, and the Tobolsk, they are carried into the Isset ; after which they again quit their boats, and make about 60 versts over the Oural mountains to the R. Tschoussovaya, and then by the Kama, the Wolga, and the Twertza, to this place and to Petersburg. The expenses of these journies, as well as a general estimate of the distances, have been before stated under the head of Siberia.

The facilitating the communications by water\* has of late years been made a particular object of attention with the Russian

\* By an ukase, dated 22 October 1818, several taxes are ordered, the amount of which is directed to be laid out in the improvement of the inland navigation : some of the export duties are raised 10 per cent., and the merchants have a general increase of 5 per cent. on their former payments. The peasants exportation tax is raised one copeck ; and the barges and vessels, employed in the rivers and canals, ordered to pay a duty proportioned to their size and cargo.

government. The Mariensky canal, between the Kofgia and the Vitegra in the north, and the Ladoga canal, for the purpose of avoiding the dangerous passage of the lake, are completed. The junction of the Markta and the Volga, the Oka and the Don, the Priepicz with the Niemen and the Bog, the improvement of the navigation of the Dnieper, all schemes projected, and some in an advanced state, are sufficient examples of their zeal on this subject. These matters are all, however, without exception, the undertakings of the crown ; it is not to be expected indeed that individuals should as yet hazard much on such concerns, especially while the carriage of goods by land is at so cheap a rate

It is by giving aid to her domestic circulation that the real national wealth of Russia must be accumulated ; every circumstance conspires to point out the necessity of improving her internal advantages before she should look to those ultimate objects which she now vainly hopes

to attain. Her condition places insurmountable obstacles in the way of her manufacturing trade, and the struggle is useless.

Bounded on the north by Tornea and the Frozen Sea, on the south by the Sireth, the Danube, the Oural, the Aras, and the Caspian; occupying from east to west an extent of upwards of 170°; she possesses within herself every variety of climate and soil, and almost every species of vegetable and mineral production that foreign trade can offer for her supply. It is by the cultivation of these means, and the amalgamating and equalising, as far as possible, the several local bounties of nature, that the country must hope to thrive.

Of the promise held out by speculations in this line many instances might be given, but it will be sufficient to mention one, which bears a reference to the standard food of Russia; it has sometimes happened that a coul of rye has been sold at Chevalinsk, on the Volga, for one rouble, at the same

time that the price in Petersburg market was no less than nineteen. The point, however, receives the best illustration from the uncommon activity of the transport trade, which is displayed in every direction, and this neither regulated, as is the case in other affairs, by the interference of the government, or, indeed, requiring any assistitious aid. We seldom met less than from four to six caravans each day; consisting of strings of twenty or thirty single horsed carts, carrying half a ton each; these were in motion at all times and in all parts; wherever a plain was open to our view they appeared like ants crawling over the face of the earth, realising a prospect of lucrative traffic, to the extension of which no possible limit could be drawn. They were laden, some with the produce of the neighbourhood, and some with that of the southern districts; tallow, leather, bristles, hides, &c., all bound for Petersburg: those on their return carried colonial produce, of various sorts, to the interior: sugar, coffee,



logwood and other articles for dyeing; a few of them, much to our surprise, were freighted with small cargoes of English lead, for we were told it could be afforded at a cheaper rate here than the metal brought from the Siberian mines. The circumstance makes in favour of the views of the Russian government as to the necessity of the improvement of the means of internal circulation, but bears an irrefragable testimony to the impropriety, and perhaps impolicy, of giving a check to the introduction of foreign articles at this present time.

The Russian leather, another great article of transport, was manufactured in abundance at Torjok, our next stage. It is tanned with oak bark in general, and coloured with cochineal, a perfume being added by the use of a certain oil, the nature of which is kept a secret in the manufactories. Torjok contained nothing else very remarkable. The town was pretty, the country wild and bare; and if any thing particularly caught our attention, it was the

costume of the people : for this is varied in almost every province of Russia, and here it bore the strongest marks of an oriental character, both from the small double horned coif, as also from the long white shawls in which the women were enveloped from the crown of their heads to their feet : underneath this was worn an habit fitted to the body like a gown, and which, even amongst the lowest classes, was gorgeously ornamented ; it was coloured blue or red, bordered with broad stripes of variegated lace, and made with open sleeves and a profusion of foil and beads. The men were dressed generally in red shirts, worn over trowsers of blue or white ; their legs bound up with dirty rag or thick rings of woollen, and their feet thrust into shoes, matted of the bark of the lime-tree. In their girdles they usually carried an hatchet, which is the factotum of a Russian clown, and is wielded with the dexterity which all savages accustomed to the use of a single instrument invariably acquire.

As for travelling, we journeyed according to the prejudices of the country with four horses abreast, and sometimes, where the wooden road was damaged or in want of repair, we employed six in the same fashion. The part of the Russian apparatus however, which seems most worthy of admiration is a bow of wood arched at an height of two feet above the horse's shoulders; a ring is placed at the top, and through this is passed the bearing rein, which, from its position, affords much greater security to the horse against falling, than when, as in our English mode, it is hooked on his back: I do not ever remember to have seen a broken-kneed horse in Russia. Something similar may be observed in use among the waggon-teams in Austria; where the collar of the horses is raised into an high peak, over which the rein is carried for the same purpose: but it is by no means either so little burthensome to the beast, or, in other respects, so efficient as the plan adopted in

**Russia.** The scheme is applied not only to the carts and waggons, but brought into use in all the most elegant harness of the sledge or droshka, or other carriages drawn by a shaft, becoming, when well managed, a very ornamental addition to the equipage.

Another fashion, as prevalent as the above in the equipages of people of condition, but which does not merit the same share of praise, is the use of the *furieux*; this is an horse that, although attached, is not employed in the draught of the carriage, but serves merely for ornament, capering and curvetting by the side of his companion in the shafts: in order to improve his action and fit him for this duty, he is constantly kept with his neck drawn awry by a short rein affixed to his side, and, to assist the graceful twist of his head, he is placed under the same constraint even in the stable. I know not to whom to give the merit of this invention.

The outermost horses of our own range, when six were employed, appeared not to

be of much more service during the journey than those used as the above, as indeed may be easily surmised.

We were impeded also by the bad state of the road, for the flooring was in many parts defective: the day, in short, had already broken when we arrived in sight of the city of Twer, and the spreading waters of the Volga. There is a certain degree of vague and indeterminate respect attached to some names, when we can scarce assign any reasonable ground for such a feeling, and we discovered (I confess) mingled impressions of delight and wonder as we touched the banks of this sacred stream: yet I know not that the river god boasts any peculiar attributes, or claims our notice from any more striking powers than those of bestowing fertility on pasture lands and corn-fields. The town, nevertheless, is of note, and celebrated on account of the massacre of the Tartars, in the reign of the Grand Duke Alexander Mikailovitch, when a tragical scene, like that of the Sicilian

vespers, was exhibited; but such an occurrence is held no extraordinary feature in the Russian annals. We passed the river, which is about two hundred yards broad, by a bridge of boats, and entering the streets of Twer found ourselves again encircled by splendid public buildings, (for it is the seat of the provincial government) walled convents, and churches covered with cupolas. Its general wealthy appearance is owing to the trade it enjoys from its situation on the river; for numerous articles are forwarded from this place as an *entrepot* in various directions, chiefly, however, overland to Riga. One of the great water caravans was at this time hourly expected to arrive, and four or five of the vessels were already in sight, towed by horses against the stream; a tedious labour, that interested us but little.

We were now entering upon a new field of speculation, and about to tread those grounds that had so lately been the seat of a war, the most important in its con-

sequences which the world ever saw ; and to trace the march of an army which in point of gallantry and shew, in enterprise of individual spirit and courage, as afterwards in experience of cruel reverse, of toil and suffering, far exceeded all we have read in the page of history, or even the fictions of romance. The association of locality, it must be confessed, gives an hold to the imagination when ruminating upon this momentous period, and in traversing the scene of operation, seems to place before us, in a tangible shape, all that our mind had fancied or pictured to itself of great events. Here we identify ourselves in thought with the actors in these revolutions themselves, and enjoy the delight of a more than theatrical representation. Every spot partakes a shade of gloom or horror, of grief or pity, from the sights it has witnessed; and the cry of danger and alarm seems still to reside in the haunts where the din of war has once been heard.

When the rapid advance of the French

army in 1812, and the occupation of Moscow, seemed at once to have decided the fate of the campaign, the general consternation in these quarters was at its greatest height; not only the citizens fled themselves from Twer, but removed all their goods to more distant parts, and orders were said to have been issued from the government that the town should be committed to the flames, in case the chance of war should render it liable to the occupation of the enemy; the chance therefore of a few hours might have involved it in the fate of Smolensko, Mojaisk, Viasma, and Moscow.

To prevent, however, their advance in this line, a corps of 30,000 men had been collected under General Witzingerode, and posted in the neighbourhood of Klin. Yet no appearance of protection could relieve the fears of the people, either in the towns or the country; every mode of conveyance was put in requisition, and the inhabitants of the district dispersed in various direc-



tions, flying to Vladomir, and to N. Novgorod, while some scarce thought themselves secure at a place less remote than Kasan.

But it was not in this neighbourhood alone the alarm was felt; even at Petersburg, the dreadful news that was announced overpowered their senses. Kutusow's motions were unknown; the French appeared irresistible, and every one fancied they saw their legions already entering the city gates. Preparations were made to move the court to Casan; the valuables of the palace were packed up; the several imperial institutions ordered to be in readiness for a journey to Finland. At length the fleet actually set sail for England; and all persons who had connexions there hurried their wives and families, or even their property, to London, as the only place of security. It is indeed a curious instance of unfortunate precaution, that a Russian nobleman's pictures being sent thither to be placed out of the way of

French rapacity, were burned in the fire which broke out at the British custom-house in the following year. But the fears of individuals, in themselves sufficiently active, had been infinitely augmented by these public demonstrations of alarm ; and in proportion as people were further removed from the scene of action, they became the more a prey to vague conjecture and phantoms of the imagination.

In the course of our journey, the day after we quitted Twer, we came upon the place where the advanced posts of the French army had been established during the occupation of Moscow. It was a small village belonging to Count Strogonov, at about the distance of forty versts from the city, and had been the theatre of many a sanguinary rencontre. But the spot at this time presented no features of ravage ; the houses were renewed, and the whole bore a quiet and tranquil appearance. The villagers, sitting before their doors, were chanting their wild songs over their work ;

the women for the most part industriously employed in weaving their coloured lace, the children playing around with *baffis*\*, and the men, as usual, apart, sluggish from the sultriness of the evening, were sleeping here and there on the bare ground. The contrast of their dingy wooden cabins with the merry air and gay attire of the female groups, formed a picture of the most striking singularity.

How mistaken were the notions that induced Buonaparte to think that these people would ever lend themselves to a scheme like his! How erroneous the representations of his treacherous emissaries! He had himself found by experience that the volatile Italian, even in the highest days of revolutionary phrensy, was seldom able fully to co-operate with the frantic desires of his mind. What could be ex-

\* This amusement resembles nine-pins, or rather the vulgar game of skittles; only that the pins, which are the knuckle bones of sheep, are six in number, and arranged as three pair.

pected from the bigotry, obstinacy, and ignorance of Russian slaves? Utterly incompetent to picture in imagination those visionary ideas of liberty that were offered, they felt content with the state of things as they were, because they were so, without the power of exercising more than an inert, sluggish attachment even on any score. Their constancy did not arise from respect for present customs and ordinances, not from a sober dislike to change, but from an absolute incapacity to discover what the prospect of change might be. “Avant  
“ de voir les democrates, les demagogues,  
“ les jacobins, il faut en avoir eu des roy-  
“ alistes, des aristocrates, des monarchiens ;  
“ ils n’ont encore que des esclaves\*.”

I well remember that much conversation was excited at Petersburg by the emperor’s proclamation to the people of Paris in 1814, which breathed throughout a spirit of the most exalted notions of liberty. The

\* *Mémoires Secretes sur la Russie.* Paris, 1800.

English generally blamed him for hazarding such sentiments, considering the present situation of his own subjects: not so the Russian, he well knew that the time at which such ideas could be viewed as dangerous to the weal of his country was not yet arrived.

If French promises succeeded in deluding a few individuals in the manufacturing districts of Toula and Kalouga, it was a rare exception. For the rest,—far from receiving the demonstrations of fraternisation with satisfaction, the Mougik, who saw that, in spite of the proffered kindness, his dwelling was invaded, his wife and daughters violated, and his church polluted by the wantonness of a stranger, was roused by rage from his apathy, and flew at once to arms. This exasperation was constantly increased by fresh instances of aggravation, and every day brought new proofs of the growing enthusiasm of the country.

Twenty of these poor creatures, who re-

**fused** to act as guides to some detachments of the French army, were tried for disobedience, and sentenced to be shot. They were marched in a body to the fatal spot, when, after embracing one another, and taking leave, each man stepped forward in his turn, and, crossing himself, submitted to his fate without a groan.

The peasants of Prince B. Gallitzin afforded a bright example of love for their country, though of another description. They assembled one morning, and surrounded the house of their lord to the number of near three thousand, in a tumultuous body, that might have excited a different suspicion in a stranger's breast. The prince was absent, having a command of militia in the neighbourhood, but the princess made her appearance, and demanded of them what it was they wanted; they answered, they had placed their wives and children, and their goods, in security in the forest, and came to her to ask for

arms, that they might share with their master the duties of the field. A more simple and impressive exhibition of patriotic sentiment could hardly be conceived.

The nobles displayed a spirit of earnestness and devotion such as had never been experienced in any other enemy with whom the French hitherto had measured strength. Individuals seemed to exert themselves to the utmost of their power : Countess Orlov gave 4,000,000 roubles as a contribution towards the expenses ; Count Mamounoff the amount of his income for that year, offering also some valuable jewels to the emperor for the same purpose ; Count Zouboff, Soltigoff, Demidoff, and many others too numerous to be particularised, followed their example. The nobles of the government of Moscow shewed no less zeal ; they met the emperor in a body, at their capital, in the month of July, and far outstripped, by voluntary offers, all the de-

mands he made upon them. Notwithstanding the heavy draughts of men\* that had taken place, 80,000 men were instantly enrolled under the name of *opolchanie*, or militia, by them alone, and placed at the disposal of the emperor. A similar step was adopted throughout the Russian provinces, and the numbers levied under the same denomination throughout the empire did not fall short of 900,000 men, which was at least two-thirds beyond the quota that was required.

All these were to be clothed, armed, and furnished with provision for three months, at the expense of the seigneur, who had no other right reserved to him than the nomination of their colonel. . Many of these troops, who afterwards were actually called

\* The ordinary recruiting for the army is light: one man out of 250 is taken each year; here one man in ten was drafted for the militia service. Prince Sheremetov alone raised 12,000. Every nobleman on appointing the commander to his own corps nominated Kutusow, and the emperor was hence induced to confer on him the command of the grand army.



into service, proved themselves worthy companions of the soldiers of Borodino ; their steadiness was irreproachable, and their spirit undaunted. The army employed in the siege of Dantzic was almost wholly composed of these regiments of militia.

The conduct of a corps of 10,000 raised in the north bears ample testimony to those feelings that were said to pervade the whole: they had been trained and assembled at Petersburg, from which place they received orders to march to Velikaya, the nearest point that the advance of the French had reached in that direction. The emperor reviewed them before their departure, and is said to have shed tears on witnessing their expressions of enthusiastic devotion to his cause, as if presaging the melancholy fate which awaited them. It so happened that at the time of their arrival at Velikaya, Witgenstein was unable to detach troops to support them, and sent an order that they should fall back to a certain distance. " No," said they, " the last pro-

“mise we made to the emperor, our father, “was, that we would never fly before the “enemy; we keep our word.” They did so, and 8000 out of the number fell on the spot, the victims of their obstinate and misguided courage.

But notwithstanding the favourable state of the public mind, such is the principle of the Russian government, that it was held expedient to keep the people, as far as possible, in ignorance of the real condition of affairs, and most singular were the devices adopted for the purpose. About ten days before the French forces entered Moscow, the governor, Rastopchin, issued a proclamation, stating that a balloon was preparing which was to be filled with various combustibles, and would accomplish a great scheme for the deliverance of the country; that on the following Sunday a lesser one would be launched, by way of experiment, and the inhabitants were forewarned of its appearance, lest any unnecessary alarm should be excited, for it

was only the forerunner of that which was to destroy *Znodoy, the wicked one*. Another proclamation requested the youths of Moscow to meet on the Sparrow Hills, on a stated day, in order to repel the presumptuous hosts of the enemy. In short, every measure that could encourage a fallacious hope of confidence was resorted to on this occasion. Some even reported the battle of Borodino to have been a victory on the part of the Russians, and a celebrated diplomatic personage gave a grand dinner in honour of the event.

On Friday the 11th September, a public masquerade was advertised at Moscow; but the general consternation had by this time gained too much ground to permit the citizens to join in diversions of this sort, and only two persons shewed themselves at the doors, where they viewed the entertainment of an empty room.

On Sunday, 13th September, all uncertainty was put at an end. The Russian army, in full retreat, entered the town, and

the vanguard already held the road of Vladomir. Every one who had been deceived by idle tales, or who, fondly hoping his own wishes might prove true, had procrastinated the evil hour of departure, now hurried to join the crowd of fugitives at the city gates, and a scene of confusion ensued, that served to increase a thousand-fold the general dismay.

On the following morning, when the tumultuous passage of the troops was concluded, the police and the officers of government took their departure: the few miserable people who were unable to fly shut themselves up within their houses, and waited, in pain and anxiety, the dreadful interval that elapsed between the passage of one army and the entrance of another. Here and there the outrages of a few half drunken wretches, escaped from the prisons\*, were heard; but every where be-

\* A party of these vagabonds pillaged the arms from the arsenal, and posted themselves in the Kremlin, which they thought sacred and impregnable; here they made an

sides the stillness of death prevailed ; a fearful calm, that seemed destined to be the precursor of some dire convulsion.

It was about five o'clock on Monday evening, when the sound of the trumpets, and clatter of horses' feet, announced the approach of the forces of Murat, who led the advance of the French. The streets were filled in rapid succession ; guards were quickly posted at every open spot or avenue, and immediate possession taken of the Kremlin.

Before night closed in, Buonaparte arrived in person at the barrier on the Smolensko road, and the greater part of the forces were understood to have reached the suburbs. Here his temporary residence became the scene of a singular occurrence. He waited some time in seeming surprise at not receiving a formal deputation from the municipality to present him with the

useless attempt to defend the walls, and were massacred to a man : this was made the subject of a paragraph in the French bulletin.

keys of the town ; but supposing that a mistake might have caused the delay, he despatched an aid-de-camp to inform them of his arrival. The officer soon returned to him with the account that neither magistracy nor police were to be discovered, and that the whole place was apparently deserted. Buonaparte was amazed, but soon found the account confirmed from other quarters : again he sent an officer to endeavour to search for some person at least, who might afford him intelligence respecting these extraordinary circumstances : his messenger wandered about for an hour or two in vain ; at last he lighted upon a poor school-mistress, who was reported to be tolerably well versed in the French language ; upon the strength of this qualification, she was taken from her house, mounted on a *droshka*, and sent in haste to hold a conference with the mighty Napoleon. Her story was such as might be expected ; and this ambitious despot felt

the first shock of the great catastrophe that awaited his fatal expedition.

Meanwhile the secret preparations to burn the town, and to deprive the French army of the resources they hoped to secure, had been partially carried into effect. Under pretence of constructing the balloon before mentioned, a large apparatus of fireworks and combustibles were made ready by the direction of M. Smith, at Voronzovo. In the course of this day, they were conveyed and distributed, by the hands of various emissariés, throughout every quarter of the town, and applied with the greatest assiduity. The confusion that ensued upon the occupation of so large a place aided the secrecy of their operations, and in a few instances some of the inhabitants on the eve of departure were found to lend their assistance to the scheme. Fraught as they were with the zeal of the moment, they set fire with their own hands to their empty habitations; even women were seen kneel-

ing, crossing themselves for an instant before their own doors, and then flinging in the fatal brand, and hurrying away half dismayed at what they had done.

On this very night the French observed a flame breaking out in the Twerskaia, a part of the city situated on the north ; a short time after, a bright light was seen in the Taoutsa quarter, and several buildings of the exchange in the Kitaigorod were reported to be on fire. These phenomena, however, were disregarded at the time ; they were looked upon as occurrences of accident, orders given to extinguish them, and little further notice was taken.

By Tuesday evening the fires before observed had assumed a very serious aspect ; the detachment employed to stop their progress reported their labours to be in vain ; the blaze arose in a thousand places at once, and encircled them while plying their ineffectual labours. A south-west wind, which prevailed the whole day, increased its destructive fury, involving in ruin all the



parts of the town lying in that direction. But in spite of the increase of danger, a suspicion was as yet scarcely entertained of the real origin of this mischief, though some persons charged as incendiaries had been apprehended, and one daring band, that feared not to advertise the French invaders of what was going on, had thrown a rocket within the walls of the Kremlin.

The imperial palace, where Buonaparte had taken up his abode, after the first night spent at the barrier, was situated within the holy citadel; and whether it was from this circumstance, or from general alarm at the fire that threatened to surround him every way, I know not, but it is well known that he was induced for one night to shift his quarters to the Petrovski Palace. Hither he was followed by between three and four hundred miserable objects,—hungry, houseless citizens, plundered and insulted by the soldiery, who crowded around the doors, and with dumb shew and pale faces of despair, implored the protection of him

that was the cause of all. But what could be done? To stop the flames was impossible; for the rest, leave to pillage had already been granted, and numerous bands of marauders infested every place that the fire left open to their rapacity. The licentiousness of the army was uncontrollable.

On Thursday, the wind, which had veered round by the south, set in violently from the east, as if it were destined that the destruction should on all sides be complete. On Friday it became still more boisterous; and the fiery current quickening along the wooden alleys, instead of spreading from house to house, at once wrapt whole streets in conflagration. Throughout this vast place nothing was heard but the crash of timbers and walls, accompanied with the hollow murmur of the fire, while to the sight was exhibited one unvarying circle of dismal and smothered ruins. There was not even that brilliancy in the scene, which fancy might picture to itself as attendant upon a conflagration. In some distant

parts the breeze occasionally fanned out a momentary flame; but even this in a few seconds died away, sinking into the black and vaporous deluge that inundated the atmosphere.

Such were the features of horror that shewed themselves within the gates; without, a wretched crew of fugitives, nobles and peasants, all alike fatigued with their march, and destitute of food, lay on the roads, and watched through the long night, "afar, afar off," the flames of the burning city. Murder and rapine stared them in the face,—the lawlessness of confusion reigned throughout,—and the eternal distrust that is engendered by calamity added distraction to their sufferings.

But to return. On Saturday morning the wind fell, and as the smoke gradually cleared off, exposed to view a field of desolation that no words can attempt to describe.

To the feelings of a native it was an heart-rending prospect indeed: no one is

more alive to the pride of his country than a Russian. But setting aside the sense of disgrace, it was a sight involving so many feelings inseparable from human nature, that it was impossible to look on unmoved, or to indulge those abstract sentiments which it might suggest to a stranger. The latter may view in these sad marks the earnest of the safety of his own land and the deliverance of Europe; not so the former; it is impossible for him to reason quietly on the necessity or policy of the measures which were adopted, and there is no Russian at this day, whatever his information may be, that will venture openly to avow from what means the conflagration arose; it is invariably ascribed by people at Petersburg, as well as at Moscow, to the malice of the French army. History, however, will do justice to the nation, and blazon in its true colours this signal triumph of Russian magnanimity.

It was from the road as it passed under the turrets of the Petrovsky Palace, that

we first beheld the myriads of domes and steeples that yet glittered among the relics of Moscow; and a short hour brought us to the barriers. At our first entrance only a few occasional symptoms of the conflagration occurred, and little that was of a nature to correspondence with the gloomy appearance which we had been led to expect; but as we advanced, the quarters of the Slabode or fauxbourg, where wood had chiefly been used in building, exhibited destruction in its fullest extent,—for the most part a *campagne rase*: now and then the shell of a house was seen standing in a blank space, or here and there a few brick stoves yet remaining, pointed out the spot where a dwelling once had been. Moving onwards, we crossed the avenues of the boulevards; the trees were in full leaf and beauty, seeming to vary the view only to heighten its melancholy aspect. Leaving this, we passed to the central parts of the town that were constructed with more durable materials, exhibiting occasionally a richness





and elegance of exterior that must have equalled, if not surpassed, the architectural magnificence of the most beautiful towns of Europe. But all was now in the same forlorn condition ; street after street greeted the eye with perpetual ruin ; disjointed columns, mutilated porticos, broken cupolas, walls of rugged stucco, black, discoloured with the stains of fire, and open on every side to the sky, formed an hideous contrast with the glowing pictures which travellers had drawn of the grand and sumptuous palaces of Moscow.

The cross lanes looked even at this interval as if unused to hear the sound of human tread : the grass sprung up amidst the mouldering fragments that scattered the pavements ; while a low smoke, issuing perhaps from some obscure cellar corner, gave the only indications of human habitation, and seemed to make desolation ‘visible.’

If such were the impressions on a stranger’s mind at the present day, what were the feelings of those who were con-



strained to remain in the town during the reign of the French; witnessing the daily progress of their misfortunes, as well as experiencing in their own persons the bitterest sufferings which want and oppression could inflict.

The number of these was not large; only about 20,000, out of a population of more than 300,000, having been detained by poverty or other causes. Some people will regard the proportion as greater than common expectation would have calculated upon; but it should be recollected that the danger of their situation was for a long time concealed from the citizens; and, flashing upon them as it did, on a sudden, it augmented in a marvellous degree the difficulties of providing the necessary means for flight. The demands for horses, mules, carriages, were exorbitant beyond measure; on the last day, four and even five hundred roubles were offered for horses to the first stage out of Moscow, and repeatedly refused.

Many, also, helpless through bodily infirmities, were constrained, under these circumstances of aggravation, to abide the fury of the storm ; and when in this account we include between 7,000 and 8,000 wounded soldiers of the Russian army, who perished either through want of surgical assistance, or were involved in the general conflagration, it is impossible for the most inventive genius to imagine a tale of greater horror.

Another class again was composed of foreign residents, to whom an attempt to depart, unless under protection, would have been at the imminent peril of their lives. The prejudices, ignorance, and rage of the multitude were equally ungovernable : every stranger was with them a Frenchman and a spy ; and several were cruelly butchered by the peasants on the road, no farther ground of suspicion appearing than their ignorance of the Russian language.

The hardships undergone by one of the German merchants were related to us as we

passed the remains of his former dwelling : it was a small house situated at a short distance from the city. Fearing he might be here more exposed to the insolence of the soldiery than in a place where they were more immediately under the eye of their officers, he resolved to quit the place and seek the shelter of the town, setting out for this purpose the very day on which the French troops entered. He was utterly incapacitated from making any attempt to escape to the country, and scarce, indeed, could look to an easy accomplishment of this short journey, being himself afflicted with a severe dropsical complaint, his wife far advanced in pregnancy, and burthened moreover with an infant daughter in arms only nine months old. The party was joined by the son-in-law and the daughter, who were unwilling to quit their side while a prospect remained of their being serviceable, and they all repaired together to the habitation of a friend in the Nikitskaia, where they remained during the entrance

of the troops. On the 3d of September their house was visited, and they were plundered of whatever articles the military chose to lay their hands upon: after which, seeing their walls threatened by the rapid advance of the flames, they were again forced out of doors. A droschka, that they lighted upon by chance in the streets, furnished a mode of conveyance for the sick man, and his daughter and son-in-law drew it by turns: on their route, they were assaulted by a second body of plunderers, who finding themselves forestalled as to articles of value, stripped them of the greater part of their clothes, robbing even the child of its swathings: thankful, however, that no farther violence was offered, they pursued their journey till they arrived at a house near the barrier in the Twerskaia, from whence, as before, they were driven on the following day by the flames. They now sallied forth for the third time in quest of an habitation, and having the good fortune to be accom-

panied by two French officers who offered their services, were preserved from insult by their polite attendance. They journeyed near five versts through the smoking ruins of the town, till finding a bathing-house in the suburbs which was entirely deserted, they halted, and without deliberation fixed upon it for their abode. Scarcely had they been settled a fortnight when they were assailed by a new source of danger: the Cossacks, in the course of their inroads to Moscow, paid a visit also to this place, and imagining them, from some circumstances or other, to be a French family, were preparing on this bare surmise to put them to death. Some of the party had fortunately concealed themselves, only the sick man, with his wife and child, appearing: and she, having competent knowledge of the Russian language, endeavoured to persuade them that their ideas were groundless, and to explain as far as she dared their real situation; while he, whose imperfect accent would have increased their suspicion, an-

answered their interrogations only by sighs and groans; feigning, though perhaps it was scarcely a counterfeit, that he laboured under pangs of the acutest suffering: the intruders were at last, with much difficulty, appeased, but on their departure left our poor foreigners in such a state of agitation and alarm that they dared not stay another night in this exposed part of the town, and set out on their travels for the fifth time. They now repaired to one of the toll-houses, where three of the number, who alone survived the miseries of their situation, remained till the final evacuation of the city.

There were none of these people but had some peculiar anecdote to relate of their sufferings, and all bore yet in their looks some mark of the privations and anxieties they had undergone. Mr. C—— represented himself to have been seated in his chamber the evening of the arrival of the French; where he heard undisturbed the bustle of the military on taking possession of the town: about ten o'clock at night,

however, two dragoons suddenly entered, demanding, with pistols in their hands, whether any Russian soldiers or Cossacks were concealed? He replied that there were not.—“If you deceive us,” said they, “you die.” They went up stairs to search, and presently returned, asking for some brandy and a pair of boots; these were given, and they went their way. Soon afterwards a thick smoke began to make itself perceptible from the upper part of the house, and in a short time the whole burst into a blaze: Mr. C—— was obliged to seek shelter elsewhere at a late hour, and wandered some time in vain, till at length discovering the house of a person in the Slabode with whom he had some slight acquaintance, he knocked, and requested a lodging; this was soon granted; the favour was not indeed confined to himself, for he found the whole establishment converted into a place of general refuge, containing upwards of an hundred wretched persons littered down in the several rooms and out-houses. It was

hardly to be expected they should enjoy the sleep of this night unmolested, and they were visited successively by four several parties of marauders, of whom it can be only said that the first left nothing for their successors to deprive them of. Alarmed by the continual reports of assassination in the streets, he told us he never quitted the house except once during the six weeks of his abode, and then he had cause to repent of his temerity, being insulted by some of the soldiers, robbed of his coat, and congratulating himself that he had escaped with his life. Some time afterwards a few French officers, as quarters began to grow scarce, came and billeted themselves in the house, where they were received as welcome guests, since their presence afforded hope of protection. But this increase of company added to their difficulties in some sort, and filled them with fears lest they should be unable to find subsistence enough for so large a party. Meat, which had been abundant during the first week, was



not now to be had : they doled out day by day to each a small allowance of flour from the household store, which they kneaded into paste and baked themselves over their fires. This supply began at last to fail, without the possibility of its being replenished from any quarter : for the peasants who had ventured to market being beaten and robbed of their provisions, carts, and their horses, had ceased their visits, so that no grain was to be procured. Feeling themselves deprived, therefore, of every other resource, they were driven to forage, accompanied by the French soldiers, in the gardens of the neighbourhood, digging for potatoes and roots, or whatever they could find : yet even this mode of subsistence was precarious, and their work was often interrupted by the incursions of the Cossacks. In a half-starved condition, without a single change of clothes or linen, this gentleman passed the greater part of the time the French stayed at Moscow : but, pursued by more than an ordinary malignity of fate,

his sufferings were not brought to a conclusion at their departure. The excellent character which he bore had led the French governor to solicit his acceptance of a temporary appointment in the provisional municipality ; he was urged by them on the score of putting him in a way to assist his fellow citizens, and, preferring the real calls of duty to a consideration of the consequences to which it would expose him, unfortunately yielded to the request. But on the return of the Russian police, no argument that he could bring forward was held a sufficient plea for such conduct : it was necessary, in compliance with the feelings of the times, that the utmost abhorrence should be shewn against every person who bore the slightest mark of connexion with the enemy, and to have merited their confidence was the highest crime. For this he was condemned by the unanimous voice of his tribunal ; and the punishment awarded was, that he should be obliged to labour half an hour (*pro forma*)

on the public works, with a badge of infamy affixed to his arm ; after which exposure he was thrown into prison for three months, and evermore forbidden to quit the city of Moscow.

This story, nevertheless, presents but an imperfect epitome of scenes of distress, that varied with every distinction of age or sex. The females were of course no less subjected to the miseries of so calamitous a period ; Madame —— related to us her tale of woe. Feeling, as was natural, great alarm on hearing of the arrival of the French, she had retired to an open space of ground near one of the churches, whither a number of the inhabitants had fled from similar motives. The party waited here near an hour without seeing any one, when a troop of cavalry came up and asked (it was the ordinary inquiry) whether any Russian soldiers were concealed amongst them ? “ No,” answered the women, covering up with their cloaks a poor wounded man who lay half dead upon the ground. The

French said they were content, and, with much appearance of politeness, demanded next if they stood in need of any thing which it was in their power to procure: they received a second answer in the negative, and passed on. Presently one of them returned with a bottle of brandy in his hand, and kindly offered them to drink: after this, as night came on, the whole group dispersed to seek for shelter where occasion might serve. The lady, with her husband and daughter, retired to an empty house, and remained there for two days, not daring to stir out of doors: when, being almost famished, the husband was obliged to go abroad with the hope of procuring provisions. In crossing the street he stopped, either from curiosity or some other trivial motive, and picked up a rocket-case which was lying on the ground, with the appearance of having been used in the conflagration: seeing, however, that he was observed by two French soldiers, he put it away in his pocket somewhat perhaps in a

hurried manner: they at the instant came up, and demanded, in a threatening tone, to see what it was he had concealed. On being shewn, one of them instantly accused him as an incendiary, and without farther parley took a step back, levelled his musket, and shot him through the heart. His daughter beheld this scene from the window with such feelings as may be well imagined, and the wife ran up but to behold him weltering in his blood. At this juncture they were discovered by a French officer, who happened to pass that way; he took pity on them, and removed them to the palace of Count A. Rassumofski, then the residence of King Murat, where they remained till the final evacuation.

His majesty had been driven by the irreverent flames to this hotel, in which, much to his credit (be it said), he opened an asylum for the poor sufferers, and afforded them every means of relief that was in his power. Circumstances, however, did not admit of the enjoyment of much comfort:

a large assembly of both sexes was crowded into one apartment, where the companionship in misfortune served rather to increase than relieve their pains. It is distressful to delicacy to relate, that in this very room a woman of good condition in life was actually delivered of a child, her female friends standing around, and endeavouring with their handkerchiefs and clothes to skreen her as far as they were able from public sight.

Mr. B—— was another resident at Moscow during this dreadful period: but, more favoured by accident, he lived at an inn near the Twerskaia in the society of several French officers, from whom he received much kindness and attention. His account furnishes an idea of the want of discipline, or, as it is termed, demoralisation, that prevailed in the ranks of the army. He had one morning, he says, ventured out in the street imprudently alone, when he was met by two Poles, who attempted, on some pretence or other, to decoy him into a private

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1. *Chlorophyll a* and *Chlorophyll b* were determined by the method of Arar and Collins (1971) using a Shimadzu 1010 spectrophotometer. The concentration of chlorophyll was expressed in mg g<sup>-1</sup> of dry weight.

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were exposed to view.—“Scoundrel!” said he, in amazement, “is it not disgraceful enough for a Russian to commit acts of thievery, but must a Frenchman also turn rogue, and bring dishonour on his nation? Are you not a soldier of the grand army?” So saying, he gave him a blow on the cheek with his sword, which he then coolly wiped and returned into the scabbard; and drawing an order for the man upon the hospital for his cure, resumed his conversation with our friend.

It is not at all surprising that the *grand army*, on finding their situation here so different from their expectation, should have been driven by their discontent to acts of irregularity and disobedience. Repose in a great capital was the lure constantly held out before their eyes, to cheer their long and toilsome march to Russia. They arrived foot-sore, with shoes and clothes worn out, and destitute of every thing but the mere *materiel* of war. Moscow in its deserted state afforded them scarce the neces-



saries of life ; while new labours and hardships were substituted for the ease and enjoyment to which they had looked forward. Thus disappointed, they next placed their hopes in the arrival of their heavy baggage, which was moving up on the road from Smolensko ; but the Cossacks broke in upon their line of communications, and plundered the whole. A Frenchman, however, is always loth to despair ; still another expectation was held out,—peace was promised them ; they confided in this idea, and peace might restore them to the enjoyment of every comfort which their toils entitled them to. Alas ! even this prospect, after a time, was found delusory and vain. The crafty Kutusow baffled every endeavour to obtain the wished-for end, and defeated each attempt of Buonaparte to work upon the feelings of the emperor. Various were the pretences for delay ; one while he bantered him by refusing to forward the despatches to his master, because the form of direction was incomplete—the emperor

of Russia, instead of all the Russias : another time he encouraged his hope by false intelligence, sending a despatch to Petersburg feigning the greatest alarm, and asserting the utter impossibility of contending against the invincible legions of their opponents ; the courier was ordered to keep a certain route, which necessarily threw him into the hands of the French ; while, on the same day, a true account of what had been prepared, and of the hopes consequently entertained, was conveyed to the emperor by a more secure road : both these schemes succeeded.

During this interval the country around was rising to arms in every direction ; the rustics were formed into regular bodies, standing constantly on the defensive, while the more vigorous warfare of the Cossacks harassed the enemy by frequent incursions into their very quarters ; in short, from these circumstances, the duties that were necessarily imposed on the French forces called forth the same perpetual watchfulness and

exertion which had fallen to their lot during the severest part of the campaign. No one dared to venture out of the city, unless under the protection of an escort; and the foraging parties were obliged to be attended with strong detachments of infantry and artillery, resembling rather a division of the army equipped for the field than troops sent on a temporary excursion.

Thus dispirited by fatigue, and daily subjected to fresh proofs of the growing insecurity of their situation, conversations of a seditious nature were excited, and loud murmurs manifested themselves against the author of their misfortunes; so high were their feelings carried, that they were not concealed even from the throne, and Buonaparte scarcely was seen to venture in the streets, some say twice only during his stay at Moscow, and then he rode at full speed. The general state of insubordination was little short of open mutiny; many of the officers declared, that during the worst times of the revolutionary armies, they

never had witnessed so shameless and daring a spirit of resistance to authority. The common men not only thought themselves equal to their officers, but even frequently defied them; and many instances occurred where the commanders were robbed of their money or their horses by the rapacity of their own soldiers: plunder was the universal cry. Buonaparte's prohibition was disregarded: "*Je me — de lui et de sa proclamation.*" His name seemed to have lost its value, for his word was no longer infallible. Churchyards were disturbed, cellars ransacked and destroyed, kettles of water poured on the ground or the walls to discover where they had been newly broken, and every plan of refined ingenuity which had been resorted to in the early days of the French republic was practised here. It is said, indeed, that among other artifices, the soldiers invented a new and simple process for extracting the most valuable and essential articles which an house might contain. They threw their lighted matches

and other combustibles through the windows, and then, making fast the back-doors, seated themselves quietly in front, waiting till the unhappy proprietor should come out prepared for flight, carrying in his hands whatever moveable articles he held of most value; they then pounced upon him and relieved him of his burden. Many a house, no doubt, in the course of pillage was set on fire by the wantonness of the French; but with regard to what has been advanced before, relative to this subject, it must be evident that if we allow the utmost to the barbarous activity of the plunderers, yet very little could have been effected in four days, when compared with the immense mass of ruin that presented itself in every part of the city: the Russians themselves were the authors of this sacrifice.

Considerable magazines of flour and brandy, which had been laid in for the use of the Russians, were discovered during the third week; but so insufficient was the dis-

cipline of the army, that the whole was dispersed and laid waste before the commissariat could take the necessary steps to secure them for the public use. This state of disorganisation is natural to a French army when overtaken by a reverse of fortune; but the troops of their foreign allies were generally said to indulge in still greater excesses than the French themselves, and the Poles in particular appeared to gratify a feeling of retaliation in every act of licence which they committed. It is but fair to add to this account, that the allies were infinitely worse provided, in every respect, than the French, and their conduct therefore admits of some sort of palliation. Of the latter, the imperial guards, whose orderly behaviour was held out as an example worthy of imitation to the rest of the forces, were so well taken care of, that they were placed beyond the immediate reach of want, and deserved but little encomium for their observance of a certain degree of regularity. Many other instances of similar

partiality might be quoted, for it formed a part of the system of Napoleon.

But this is a digression that may be said to relate to what we heard, rather than what we actually saw during our stay : it will be well to recur to our former subject, and attempt a short description of the town of Moscow.

A general idea may easily be formed, since there are, perhaps, few towns whose quarters present a more simple plan of distribution : the ancient Kremlin and Kitaigorod are situated on a central eminence above the river Moskwa ; and around these, as a nucleus, the circles of the Belgorod, the Semlianigorod, and the Slabode or Fauxbourg, are severally discernible, marking by their lines the growth of the place in successive æras.

The Kitaigorod, or Tartar town, besides some religious buildings, contains within its walls the public exchange and the chief houses of trade. All these had been completely gutted by the fire, but the spirit of

the place still remained ; shops and stalls, and tents of every denomination, were erected amidst the ruins ; and the chief street was, even now, the theatre of much bustle and activity.

The Kremlin is a large walled circle containing many old churches, as well as the public offices and apartments of state ; and hither we made a daily visit, as to a point that afforded the only specimen of the ancient magnificence of the capital of the grand dukes and the czars. It stood uninjured amidst the times of the late conflagration, but the barbarous fury of Buonaparte attacked whatever Russian piety had spared, and with unutterable malignity he marked out for devastation some of the fairest portions of this proud citadel. The most peremptory command was given to the detachment occupying the Kremlin after his departure to discharge their orders with despatch ; the mines were prepared, and at two o'clock on the last night of their stay this horrid purpose was



carried into execution. By the two first explosions, part of the walls and one of the towers towards the river were destroyed : by the third, the church of St. Nicholas and the four great bells of Moscow were blown up with tremendous violence ; at the same moment the lofty tower of Ivan Veliki, the first of the Czars, was rent from the top to its base, and the cross of the cupola, crowning its summit, buried in the ruin below. The fourth shock was by far the most dreadful ; the walls of the arsenal, which were upwards of three yards in thickness, with a part of the gate of St. Nicholas and several adjacent pinnacles, were at once blown into the air, a concussion succeeding that shook the whole city to its foundations.

When the spot was visited by the people on the following day, it was not without much awe they seemed to tread upon this ground, almost dreading to look on the ruinous chasm that was yet smoking. The impression of fear, however, is easily transferred by the mind from one source to an-

other, and the superstitious Russian soon discovered that divine agents had here been at work as well as human. Day after day these gates seemed to attract the gaze of the multitude; for the first week or fortnight hundreds of peasants were seen perpetually collected, crossing themselves, and bowing to the ground in the most fervent adoration. It was some time before a stranger could discover their object, but it appeared that a marvellous interposition of St. Nicholas had preserved the glass which was placed before his picture from being injured by the explosion, although it took place within the distance of a few yards, while it was notorious that many windows in the most distant parts of the Fauxbourg had suffered from its effects. The fact was curious, and as a part of the wall to which it was attached was at the same time thrown down, such a concurrence of circumstances might well excite astonishment. The tutelary saint of Russia had certainly never wrought a greater miracle; his fame in-

creased daily, and even at this interval of time, when our visit was made, the picture was the object of constant devotion with the mob.

Profane persons might attempt an explanation of the phenomenon in a different way: it was observable that the centre of explosion was somewhat removed behind the building on which the picture stood, it was completely sheltered therefore from the scattering of the stones and other materials, which in these cases are generally the occasion of the greatest havoc. In the next place, it is probable that the strength of the glass was able to withstand the pressure arising from the expansion of the small quantity of air confined behind, in spite of the great rarefaction that had taken place without. We may find upon inquiry that much greater miracles have sometimes been witnessed at the blowing up of an ordinary powder-mill in England.

A short time previous to the breaking out of the war, an ukase was issued by the em-

peror, ordering three and thirty churches at Moscow to be pulled down : by no means an unreasonable step, since the total number in the city and suburbs amounted to upwards of two thousand, and many of them were in a dilapidated state. The common people, however, very generally entertained the idea that their late calamities were owing to this act of impiety. The emperor has now vowed to erect a new church at Moscow in commemoration of the deliverance of Russia, for which a design has been given by Mr. Wilbers, formerly a pupil of the academy at Petersburg. A column formed out of the cannon taken from the French forms part of the design.

The imperial palace, which stands on a point commanding the whole town, was the residence, as before stated, of Buonaparte: but even these walls, that had formed his abode, were given to destruction by his orders, and now shewed themselves in the most forlorn condition, stripped of every article, and completely gutted from top to

bottom. The same scene of waste was exhibited in an interesting antique edifice, containing the chamber of the throne. As the public hall of audience at the coronation of the czars \* and emperors, it had been often made the scene of festivities in this most pompous and splendid court. But now not a vestige of ancient ornament could any where be traced ; the activity of devastation had been great, and scarce a beam or a stone rested one on the other.

The other parts of the Kremlin remained untouched, and it was impossible to conceive a more imposing spectacle than was here afforded. An high terrace overhung the walls towards the river, at the extremity of which, to the left, appeared the fantastical structure of the Trinity church, and the awe-commanding portals of the

\* The title czar was only borne by two sovereigns of Russia: the word is a Slavonic translation of the Tartar khan or king: in their translation of the Old Testament it constantly occurs in this sense. The czar Solomon or czar David being the ordinary terms in use.

Holy Gate, through which every passenger walks bare-headed. At the other end was a cluster of domes rising from the church of St. Nicholas, that of the Assumption, and the chapel and palace of the Czars ; with the lofty steeple of Ivan Veliki towering far above them all, and reflecting the beams of the sun from a globe of gold.

The palace of the Czars does not boast an antiquity of more than two hundred years, but it is an edifice raised with princely costliness in the Hindu fashion, and marked with every peculiarity of massive squareness in the carve-work with which that style abounds.

This was one of the most shewy examples of the gorgeous architecture of the Kremlin : though the whole circle offered an assemblage of bright gay colours, and a display of gaud and richness that vied with " the wealth of Ormus and of Ind." The cupolas and roofs were gilt or stained green or red, the walls and towers covered with glazed tiles of blue, and white, and

yellow, in other parts adorned with storied paintings from holy writ, while a *melange* was seen on every side of pear-shaped domes, Tartar battlements, Gothic tracery, Grecian columns, the star, the crescent, and the cross.

Looking below, appeared the stream of the Moskwa, winding its course amidst the streets and houses of the town, all indeed now in ruin, but still interspersed with many a glittering steeple, with cottage, garden, and palace intermixed, and offering to view the eternal variety of a Russian city. This scene was backed by an extensive landscape of the country on the west, dotted with country houses and monasteries, and surmounted by the long gloomy line of the Sparrow Hills, over which the French army first shewed themselves before the work of abomination was begun.

If we turned our eyes to the ground on which we stood, it was strewn with the relics of the church of St. Nicholas : the great bells that were its chief boast (one of which

weighed more than 200,000lb.) lay scattered in different directions, as they chanced to have fallen at the time of explosion ; and of the celebrated bell, cast by the Empress Anne, nothing was discoverable but the ring at the top, so deep was it buried in rubbish. In other parts remnants of military stores of various descriptions met the eye ; and at a little distance, in front of the arsenal, were ranged the 1,100 pieces of artillery, which the French lost during their campaign in Russia. These formed an heterogeneous collection, being trophies from the several nations whose mark they bore ; Italy, Holland, Austria, Prussia, Poland, Saxony, Spain, &c. To add to the endless confusion, were others that carried the names, not only of the ancient kings of France, but of the heroes and princes of the revolution, and of the fields of their glory : with these again came terms of empty sentimentalities, that once domineered in that country over men and things. Here Louis and Napoleon, there Essling and Marengo,



on another side le Tage and le Danube, or, with still worse appropriation to its subject, *la vertu, l'égalité, la liberté*; high sounding words, that served only to swell the pride of the Russian triumph; in themselves of as little force as the now mute and powerless engines of destruction on which they were inscribed.

Having incidentally mentioned the splendour of a Russian coronation, perhaps a few particulars relating to that solemnity may not be deemed unacceptable. A great deal of the barbaric magnificence of their ancient court is still preserved, and the coronation of the Emperor Alexander was conducted in a style of national pageantry, of which other courts of Europe have but little conception. The procession was composed of the several chief functionaries of state, of all the constituted authorities from the different provincial governments, the first military and naval officers, nobility, &c. in their robes and uniforms: to give an idea of their number suffice it to say, that they

extended many a verst in length, and continued to defile on the day of entrance through the city gates, from seven in the forenoon, without intermission, till nine at night. On the following morning the company assembled at the Kremlin, and were ranged in benches step above step, forming a circle about the tower of Ivan. The emperor, with the chief officers, paraded three times around, previous to his making a pious visitation to the four churches where he went through the customary forms, bowing to the shrines and kissing all the holy relics. To this ceremony succeeded a time of festival, when the nobles and the merchants, on two successive days, were regaled in the chamber of the throne; and on the third a grand entertainment was given to the peasantry, upwards of 30,000 persons partaking of the imperial hospitality. Long tables were spread, and amply furnished with provision of every description, while fountains of beer, of brandy, and of wine, displayed in profusion the joyous

sources of incbriation. The ancient custom at these fêtes was also complied with: and an huge pyramid of roasted meat was raised, surmounted at the top by an ox with gilded horns. On a signal being given, the populace rushed forward to scramble for the contents of this pile, and a prize of an hundred roubles was the reward of the happy mougik who succeeded in gaining possession of the summit. Various other exhibitions of this nature took place; but even these contentious scenes bred little riot: the order of the day (*à la Russe*) was preserved most pertinaciously: if any symptoms of rage between two parties exhibited themselves, the water engine was at hand, with whose full and cooling stream the police never failed to assuage the feelings of the mettlesome slave. The usual ceremonies, presentations, grand military reviews, and fêtes succeeded, and all in a proportionate scale of grandeur.

3d July.—On this day we took advantage of an invitation from Prince Narishkin, and

made a visit to his palace, as well as to that of another seigneur in the neighbourhood. Our arrival at the latter was unexpected, but we met with a most splendid reception, though all which we saw was in the ordinary course of Russian hospitality. It was unaided by any temporary parade, or by what some persons so often lay to the charge of this generous people, the wish to make an ostentatious display before strangers.

The gardens were laid out with much taste in the English fashion, and included a winter palace as well as an elegant *pavillon d'été*, where our host was now residing. As it was Sunday evening, the place was given up to the public, and a large company from Moscow and the neighbourhood were amusing themselves parading in the walks and shrubberies, or taking exercise on the water. According to the custom of the continent, it was an holiday of diversion. At six o'clock, therefore, the theatre was thrown open, and the various groups of company were all seen bending

their steps towards the door ; a few minutes afterwards a servant entered the saloon where we were assembled, and announced that the actors were prepared, and only waited the appearance of their lord. On entering the house, we found it in every part already crowded, two rows only being reserved in front for the private friends of our host ; the rest of the seats were entirely given up to the promiscuous parties of visitors.

The piece was a Russian comedy, founded on some tale of modern French gallantry, such as from the story might be supposed to have happened in the course of the late campaign in this country, and it appeared, as far as one could judge, to be extremely well acted. After the spectacle we returned to the saloon and partook of refreshments, while our ears were saluted with a concert of Russian music, from a full band of well practised performers. The songs were both conceived and executed with all the wildness of the national taste, varied and abrupt : one of them, lately composed in honour of

Miloradovitch, was peculiarly striking, and perhaps excelled, in loftiness and grandeur of style, by none of the finished melodies of more fashionable masters.

At night we sat down to a sumptuous repast, with every variety of wine, from Burgundy and la Fitte to the wormwood-tinctured juices of the Moldavian grape: nor were we permitted to leave the hospitable mansion till a very late hour.

The large domestic establishment of slaves which this nobleman kept, amounting to about four hundred, easily furnished the means for these several diversions. He apologised, however, to us, and without affectation, for not having received us in a more magnificent way, complaining that his losses in the campaign had been very severe. His house at Moscow had been burnt, with all its furniture, and he had lost besides a vast number of his peasants. Some of these, whom he much regretted, had in a great degree crippled his means of entertainment; the *cornes de chasse* and

*corps du ballet* had been entirely broken up, and some of his best actors, as well as most accomplished musicians, sacrificed to the exigencies of the war.

To give a fair idea of an household like this, it should be observed that these slaves are not maintained distinctly and solely for their separate avocations. Education, notwithstanding their natural aptitude for almost every employment, is from its nature attended with considerable expense. Each one, therefore, who has the advantage of being well brought up is prepared to fulfil three or four several functions, however incompatible they may seem. The house surgeon, a first-rate comedian, an admirable performer on the violin, officiated also as his master's principal *valet de chambre*; and I was surprised to see the "gay Lothario," who had likewise distinguished himself in the concert, standing behind my chair at supper.

The whole establishment bore, in their happy and easy looks, the mark of the ge-

nerous disposition of the seigneur, who was represented by all to be remarkable for his frankness, openness, and humanity. An instance occurred during the late times, which sufficiently put to the test the attachment of these poor creatures : he had divided all his plate into small lots, and doled it out to them as they dispersed on the approach of the French army ; to one he gave a chandelier, to another a tureen, to another plates and spoons, &c. with orders that they should place them in concealment. In October, when he appeared again amongst them, he required an account of the articles so disposed, and not one was missing.

Nor was this all. This poor people, upon his first taking to flight, shewed their gratitude to him by their care of his favourite female slave. She was well provided by them with every requisite ; and when they understood that he was settled in a comfortable retreat, they furnished her, of their own accord, with money and horses to follow him. He seemed to pride himself



much in these traits of good feeling; as well he might; no doubt they are not very common, but probably are as often seen on the part of the slave as generosity and kindness are to be met with on the side of the master. These accidents, for such they are, can be held no arguments for the continuance of slavery; a general system should be suited to the general disposition of men: it is only in minds of a peculiar frame that power breeds habits of condescension.

This description of household is by no means considered as large: five or six hundred slaves are kept in many of the great palaces at Moscow, as well as in the country residences, as has been before remarked. They live huddled together in a miserable state, without beds (which indeed are not required by a Russian), and destitute of all that we should style comfortable. But it is through their means that the wealthy seigneur, besides providing the amusements of theatrical entertainments and concerts at home, besides

exhibiting an antichamber constantly filled with menials, and a dinner table open to all his friends, is able to give to the world more durable testimonies of his wealth. The number of hands consigned to any employment (though at this moment the supply is diminished) is almost incredible, but may be surmised from the magnitude of the undertakings that are sometimes witnessed in this country. Count Apraxin had lost his palace at Moscow in the late conflagration ; nothing dispirited, however, at the misfortune, "That stately edifice," said he, "was built in twenty-two successive years ; it was destroyed in as many hours, and yet before twenty-two months are expired shall be renewed in the same state as before." It was done, and we saw his new building, with all its domes and porticoes, completely finished, at this moment the actual residence of a population of between 400 and 500 souls.

This rapid power of creation is truly consonant with the Russian taste : when

the King and Queen of Prussia paid a visit to Petersburg, a suite of fourteen apartments, with the carving, gilding, painting, and different elaborate decorations, were prepared at a short notice of fourteen days; and which is still more extraordinary, the gigantic pile of the Mikhail Palace, the residence of the Emperor Paul at Petersburg, was planned, built, and inhabited within the short space of three years.

A certain northern sceptic, with whom every thing that exceeded the ordinary limits of ocular demonstration was alike "*majus fide*," would perhaps have been induced, on the inspection of one of the curious establishments of seignoralty in this country, to acknowledge that the reported estimate of the population of Athens was by no means rendered impossible by the small size of the town; where accommodation more than enough might doubtless have been found. And in reference to the magnitude of their architectural monuments, which has been insisted upon by

an ingenious writer as affording matter of argument on the other hand in support of the alleged number of that people, these specimens of Russian grandeur and their means of raising them might also be quoted.

On the 26th of June the heat was oppressive, the mercury standing at 22° + (Reaumur) in the shade \*. As the fineness of the evening, however, was expected to be unusually attractive, we strolled to the public walk on the boulevards, where we saw numberless singular and interesting groups of people. Infinite was the variety of national costume. The Russian tradesman, in his blue caftan, promenading with his wife, in her head-dress of pearls, and plaited tippet of crimson velvet and gold ; the Greek in his gown of silk, blue or red ; the Persian in his black peaked cap, his vest of flowered cotton, and flowing robe ; the

\* The cold is generally more severe in the winter at Moscow than at Petersburg, from its inland situation : in January 1814, the mercury of the thermometer stood at 40 — of Reaumur.

Boukharian merchant, the Kasan Tartar, the Mongoul, each with their appropriate ornaments; and the stately unbending Turk, stepping the walk with grave and dignified air, a type of the only people in the world with whom a smile does not seem to pass for current. But the Russian Sunday butterfly, dressed in the last arrived fashion from England, patent white boot-tops, long breeches below his calf, and waist below his middle, *bore the bell*, and carried away all the admiration of the company.

We had little expected, from the deserted appearance of the streets, to see so large a concourse of people in these walks, but were told it was an extremely thin attendance in comparison with the exhibitions of former years. Nevertheless it was certain that the lucrative nature of the trade from the east had already brought back a very large part of the foreign residents, commerce was daily increasing in activity, and the promenaders were mostly persons engaged in that line.

Of all the different branches, that which

was carried on by the Boukharian merchants seemed to be one of the most gainful; it consisted chiefly in exchange; sugar, coffee, cloth, leather, indigo, small iron ware, &c. being given for cotton, stuffs and vests, silk, lambskins, rice, wool, rhubarb, dried fruits, saltpetre, tourquoises\*, lapis lazuli, and other precious stones: the shawls also of Cashmir, some at a value of not less than 5,000 or 6,000 roubles, are frequently imported by the same persons for sale. Nor is it to Moscow alone that they resort; many are established at Astracan and other places in that direction; but the chief trade is carried on at the fair of Makariev, in the month of July: numberless Boukharian caravans arrive at that place annually by the Volga, and upwards of 100,000 persons are

\* This mineral is found at Nikapour, three days journey from Mecshit: it is brought over in small pieces, packed in sacks. I have seen one of these specimens with the matrix attached; it was a red, ferruginous, argillaceous earth, bearing the appearance of stratification.

said to assemble there for the transaction of business, the value of the articles which are exhibited being stated at no less a sum than 5,000,000 roubles in the reports of the year 1803. From the same source we learn that the commerce carried on by the Russians with the Boukharians and the Kirguis amounted in the value of articles imported to upwards of 2,993,669 R. ; while the exports were only 793,491 R.

The people of the country, the objects of this intercourse, are a quiet industrious race of Tartars, living under an independent khan, that holds his court at Boukhara, a city not far distant from Samarcand. But the tract lying between this state and the Russian frontier presents the most serious obstacles to a direct trade, being unprovided with water, and besides much infested by the wandering piratical tribe of the Kirguis. Though the caravans are large, and contain from 200 to 900 camels, they are frequently attacked by these lawless freeboters ; the

only alternative being to purchase their protection, which must be done at a dear rate before they set out.

The armed bodies of the latter people are exceeding strong ; so much so, that the Russian engineers who were sent, attended by a squadron of cavalry and two pieces of artillery, to survey the country, some years since, were actually driven back before they reached the shores of lake Aral.

On account of these difficulties, the Russians have hitherto been content to leave the import trade in the hands of the natives ; but the imperial government has not been neglectful of the interest of the merchants, and in the present reign an offer of a constant escort of 1000 men was made to any company of merchants that were willing to embark a capital of 1,000,000 roubles, in a scheme for opening a direct trade with Boukharia. No one, however, thought it advisable to close with the proposal.


Besides the ordinary course of trade, curious fields of speculation are open to



foreigners, who from hence sometimes plan adventurous excursions into the eastern parts. One merchant makes a journey with the hope of discovering jewels that might have been deposited in flight or hoarded through fear, during the various revolutions that have desolated Persia and the neighbouring dominions. Another buys up emeralds and coral for the Usbek Tartars, who, from custom immemorial, are in the practice of ornamenting the eyes and forehead of the dead with these valuable articles. Another told me he had made a profitable journey with a cargo of wool from Cashmir: making his way by the route of Palatinsk, across a great portion of the desert; where he passed several days trusting to the guidance of two honest Usbek Tartars, who served him throughout for the moderate wages of one ducat each. This scheme answered so well, that he was about to send his son on a similar expedition.

The sum specified as given in recompense may seem extraordinary; but com-

merce has given the same notoriety to the Dutch ducat in these remote provinces of Asia which it has so long borne in every kingdom of Europe, and it is one of the coins that are most extensively used in affairs of commerce. The French Napoleon, he told us, though the gold was excellent, passed generally for something short of its real value, being the specimen of a currency whose stamp was not yet sufficiently known as to have acquired the same credit with that of an older coinage: a curious fact, that is highly illustrative of the unspeculative spirit of these people. He had heard, however, the name of Buonaparte mentioned even in the wilds of Tartary, and had seen in the course of the journey an history of his life, containing a pompous account of his successful enterprises and actions, down to the marriage with the Arch-Duchess Maria Louisa, in 1810. It was composed in Arabic, a language which is there familiar to every per-



son of education ; and having been printed at Paris, several hundred copies were sent to Aleppo, and distributed for circulation. Whether this was merely with a view to propagate the glory of his name, or intended to assist some future plan of conquest in the East, was not manifest. We have heard of no undertaking of this nature since the days of the Emperor Paul, who, in one of his paroxysms of frenzy, was fired with the idea of becoming an Eastern Conqueror. To further this idea, and at the same time to gratify the ill will he bore against England, he ordered several hordes of Cossacks to set out on a march that was to lead by the line of the Aral, towards the confines of Hindostan. Each successive body was to fill the place of the preceding one, "like waves in succession," as they might have perished in the desert or fallen by the hands of their opponents ; and thus it was hoped the object might finally be attained by the perseverance of the latter corps. The wild

scheme was afterwards for some reason, no doubt as good as that which first gave it birth, most happily relinquished.

Looking to the traffic of Moscow, the late ukase of the Emperor Alexander, which forbids any foreigners, unless naturalised, to establish themselves in business there, is unfortunate in its application to the present time, when encouragement should be given to settlers on almost any terms : otherwise, no doubt can be entertained of the general expediency of such a decree, in an empire where foreign agency has been hitherto so widely diffused. Several regulations with this view have been promulgated at Petersburg, though the government could not venture to carry into execution the step adopted at Moscow\*.

\* In the year 1810, a new tax was ordered to be levied on the foreign tradesmen at Petersburg who were not naturalised ; 100 roubles was the sum demanded from every master, and 40 from each journeyman. The ukase (a curious specimen of Russian legislation) stated it to be the intention of government that the rich should pay for the

On another day we made a short excursion to the Devitchi nunnery, once made the place of confinement of Sophia, the sister of Peter I. The court was open to the public ; no envious grate opposed our entrance, and we surveyed at leisure every part of the melancholy establishment. The black caps, and habits of the devotees, seen under the gloom of a Russian church, gave a most impressive solemnity to their vespers ; and this was still heightened by the plaintive tone of the female voices, joining in the chant ; for they officiated themselves during a part of the service, reading passages from the scriptures, &c. but priests were in attendance at the sanctuary door, which their

poor, in order *to avoid oppression on any class*. The foreigners were therefore assembled by order of the police, locked in a room together, a guard mounted over them, and they were commanded to select twelve men who should be responsible for the payment of the rest. This was done, but the tax was afterwards remitted, and indeed the measure was supposed only to aim at forcing them to enter into the established companies of trade.

canons never permit a woman to pass : on the whole, we were much delighted with our visit.

These religious edifices, which, during the disorderly time of the reigns of the grand dukes, were all built and provided as fortresses, might be even now considered strong holds in a military view. But added to this consideration, the angle formed by the river, towards the great western road, immediately under the Sparrow hills, rendered the nunnery a post highly necessary to be occupied by the French. A detachment of near 4000 men were accordingly placed in garrison, to watch the passage, and prevent the Russians from establishing themselves in that quarter.

The officers of this division were represented to have behaved extremely well ; they professed to acknowledge the same God as their female hostesses, and crossed themselves before the painted images with a specious shew of devotion. In short, they gave such general satisfaction by their con-

duct, that when Davoust offered to replace half of his men with an equal number of wounded Russians, the goodly Igoumena, or abbess, declined without ceremony the proffered exchange. Lest any suspicion should arise that might bear hard upon her character or that of her companions, it is but justice at the conclusion of the story to add, that the nuns seemed, to us at least, neither young or handsome.

Another evening took us to the monasteries lying on the Moskwa below the town, which are all remarkable for the beauty of their situations: they were mostly buildings like that of St. A. Newski at Petersburg, faced with patch-work walls of red and white, and, one only excepted, seemed of no great antiquity.

In making these various excursions, it was lamentable to behold, in whatever direction we passed, similar scenes of wreck and havoc constantly before us. It is not difficult to picture to one's mind the appearance of an ordinary town reduced to a

state of ruin ; but to traverse a place of 35 versts in circumference, and find every where the same features, was a display of horror that far exceeds the utmost limits of fancy. The citizens had been diligent in repairs, it is true, though little could the labour of two years produce in a city of such dimensions. The few habitations that were renewed shewed but as spots in the wide waste, and seemed scarce to diversify this universal scene of desolation.

Of the whole original extent, the more distant parts of the Slabode alone, with a few streets of the Belgorod on the north, had escaped. The former from the circumstance of the dwellings being so loosely dispersed ; the latter owing to the exertions of the new imperial guard, who for their own sake laboured to save the houses in which they were quartered ; nor was it probably less indebted to the presence of the governor Mortier, who with his staff occupied one of the private houses of Rastopchin. The an-



in the same neglected and forlorn condition. The ranks of society were thinned in proportion, and at the promenade on the 1st of May, instead of 5000 carriages being seen in the train as heretofore, only 1500, including those of many country residents, were mustered.

Among the lower classes, several of the little retail shopkeepers and the owners of inns, &c. had rebuilt their houses in those situations where a ready and quick return of money might warrant the speculation, for it was accomplished at a very heavy expense: day labour was at two roubles, and the price of bricks, as might naturally be expected, had risen at this time from 15 roubles to 45. The hotel of the German *tractir*, as he is called, in which we lodged, was one of this description; it stood almost single in a ruinous street, and the marks of the fire were still visible over the windows and doors, as well as various other parts of the walls. The total amount of the numbers





which the report of the police stated to have been refitted were, in wood 1480, in stone 1312\*.

It may be asked by some persons what was the effect of the subscriptions which English liberality had afforded in relief of these cases of distress. I am sorry to say that it was not in the nature of things that much could be effected by a measure of this sort; it was some time, indeed, before the Russian government prevailed upon themselves to accept this generous mark of consideration. But it must be recollected that the class of persons to whom we would in such cases give assistance in England, under the denomination of "poor sufferers," have in this country no existence; they are all slaves, and can possess nothing legally of their own. The money sent out therefore was to be distributed in grants to such of

\* In 1817, 3,137 in stone and 5,531 in wood were actually rebuilt: those who visited the place in the following year stated that the traces of the conflagration were scarcely any where to be distinguished.

the seigneurs as chose to avail themselves of the offer. In this way, perhaps, it answered its purpose, however indirectly, since it might relieve their peasants from the immediate call for money, which they would otherwise have experienced. But if such an arrangement was not according to the wishes of the liberal contributors to the subscription, it is a painful task to record the failure of their well meant benevolence.

The number of inhabitants now resident at Moscow, while the heat of the summer months admitted them to bivouac in the streets or in the ruined houses, amounted to about 170,000; but this vast accession was only temporary, and did not in reality amount to more than half the number which the city was estimated to contain before the war.

The existing appearances afforded, no doubt, very insufficient memorials of the real calamities which had been inflicted on this people by the ambition of France. To

see so many unoffending souls deprived at once of every thing they had in the world; was a sight too much for a heart of the sternest mould to regard unmoved. Murat, as was before stated, and Mortier, had each opened a large asylum in their respective houses ; but, which is still more a matter of astonishment, Napoleon himself was melted to pity, and, though in direct opposition to every instance of his former conduct, seemed desirous of alleviating in some degree their miserable state. Human nature, it is true, is not at all times consistent in herself; our frail habits are as incapable of accomplishing perfection in one character as in another ; and the villain shews occasional feelings of remorse as the good man his vicious weaknesses.

We may suppose that prudential motives entered largely into his calculations ; but, nevertheless, it was certainly owing to his orders that the permission to pillage was formally recalled at the end of the first week ; that the governor, Mortier, was charged to

organise a provisional municipality from among the citizens ; that syndics were named to report on the number of the poor and destitute ; that rations were promised to them ; that the French surgeons were ordered to attend the sick of both nations without distinction ; and Monsieur Toutolmin required to draw up a report\* of the present state of the Foundling-hospital (for it had escaped the flames), specifying the means it afforded of giving assistance.

Nor were these steps altogether without effect : though the new municipality met with a thousand difficulties in the execution of their office ; though neither civil nor military authorities seemed respected ; though the promised rations could not be furnished for the poor ; and though the hospitals were reported to have been left unprovided with

\* In order to secure Monsieur Toutolmin from any ill consequences, Buonaparte promised to forward this document, as from himself, to the Dowager Empress, which was done, but no answer was ever received.

any means of aid ; yet in consequence of the issue of such regulations, a material difference took place in the general condition of the citizens, and even at the beginning of the third week the town had assumed an appearance comparatively tranquil.

In consequence of the impossibility of procuring these rations which he had promised, Buonaparte distributed 30,000 roubles, that had been coined in copper, among the wretches mentioned in the report alluded to, who amounted to 500 in number. The copper, however, was nearly useless ; the French, who were in chief possession of all articles of food, would not accept it, because too weighty to be carried off ; so that being disregarded as mere lumber in the town, it was carried away by the peasants to be buried in their gardens for future use.

In consequence of the amelioration of their condition, the people began to turn their thoughts to a new subject : hitherto no mass had been celebrated since the day on



which the French entered ; it was proposed, therefore, to open one of the churches for public accommodation. After a long search a priest was discovered (*aumonier du regiment de chev. gardes*) who undertook to officiate ; preparations were made with due solemnity, and a French guard mounted in front of the Eupla-Diacona, which was the church selected for this purpose. Long before the appointed hour the entrance was beset by the populace, and on the doors being thrown open, the area was in an instant thronged by the anxious crowd that hurried to their devotions. Eye-witnesses report the scene of religious earnestness which here took place to have been such as far exceeded in interest any of the most striking spectacles exhibited by the ostentatious ceremonials of the Greek church. It so happened that this day was the feast of St. Alexander, the emperor's name-day ; a Te Deum was chanted on the occasion, and the happy omen hailed with joy.

As better treatment began to prevail, the country peasants occasionally shewed themselves at the barriers, and a few even ventured into the town, where mixing with the French soldiers, and finding themselves kindly received, they began to bring provisions to the market as before. All this, however, was not merely with the desire of gain, but they hoped also, under the mask of good humour, to conceal their projects of revenge. They would constantly laugh, and shake hands, and dance (as they said) with *monsieur*, calling themselves *son ami*, *son humble serviteur*, for they are gifted with an extraordinary facility in catching the phrases of a foreign tongue. But, notwithstanding this, whenever they were fortunate enough to light upon *monsieur* alone, they infallibly murdered him, and sometimes with circumstances of aggravation the most cruel and barbarous.

The soldiers were so far deceived by these demonstrations of friendship, that they sometimes sat down to dinner at the

village cottages, leaving their muskets, in unsuspecting confidence, piled outside the door: the peasants then watching their opportunity, assembled together and butchered their guests with their own arms, while enjoying the proffered hospitality; triumphing in the glory of an act of vengeance, but still more proud of the devilish subtilty of the scheme. Many foraging parties were in this way cut off by the crafty rustics. An extract of a letter, written by a steward of an estate in the country to his master at Petersburg, giving a simple account of his success, deserves to be quoted. "The French came to us, and took from us  
" hay, oats, bread, and some cattle; how-  
" ever, we have got still sufficient for the  
" winter. In some of your estates they have  
" committed great ravages: about three  
" weeks ago they came to us again with an  
" intention to burn our village, but by the  
" assistance of God and your peasantry we  
" have killed them all, like so many starved  
" dogs. We found in their baggage many

“ church ornaments, a priest’s surplice, and  
“ a string of pearls. I have given all these  
“ for the use of our parish church: we  
“ want nothing belonging to the French;  
“ we are contented, and must not provoke  
“ divine vengeance.”

Some curious anecdotes are also in circulation illustrative of the zeal and perseverance of the Russian common people. A story is related of a slave living on Count Romanzov’s estate, in the neighbourhood of Moscow, who was wounded by a shot from a soldier in the course of one of his predatory excursions; the poor wretch, feeling he had not long to live, crawled as well as he was able to his cottage: the Frenchman, thinking this a fair occasion of making some booty, followed the steps of his victim, and found him, when he entered, stretched at length on the floor in the agonies of death. Upon this he proceeded without delay to take possession of the most valuable moveables of the cabin, and was descending through the trap-door in the centre where

the provisions and other articles are customarily laid in store, to make farther search ; when at this instant the dying peasant, summoning his remaining strength, seized his hatchet and staggered to the spot : with one blow he cleft the Frenchman's head in twain, and then himself dropping down from loss of blood, breathed his last gasp at the same moment with his cruel assassin.

The spirited behaviour of one of our countrymen named Rogers, too, deserves notice, who was in residence at the time of the invasion as steward, on a Russian estate lying about twenty versts east of Moscow. His first military visitants were a party of Cossacks, coming to demand an account of his stock and other property, which they said they must report to their commander. He answered their questions, and invited them to partake of his cheer ; they had no sooner refreshed themselves, however, than they produced a box of gunpowder, and began to employ themselves in scattering it in various parts of the house. It was in

vain he begged them to desist; they said they were under orders, and must burn all his buildings. Growing alarmed at the regularity of their preparations, he lost no time in plying them with more efficacious arguments; and finally succeeded in compromising the matter for a bribe of three hundred roubles. After this he remained unmolested: but in the course of the next week hearing that Moscow was in the hands of the French army, he determined to leave this spot; and collecting his peasants, about sixty in number, he carried them, together with his family, to a secluded place which he had previously fixed upon for the purpose. It was remote from any great road, and secured from approach by the marshes and water that surrounded it on every side but one: this, too, he barricaded as well as circumstances would permit. His precautions were, as it appears, of little avail: for walking out by chance one evening with his wife, he observed four French cuirassiers making their way to his dwell-

ing, as if no obstacle had intervened. A double-barrelled gun was in his hand, and he instantly fired upon them before they were aware of his being near: he was an excellent marksman; two of the party fell, and the rest fled. He was now, however, conscious that his retreat was discovered; and determined therefore to remove to a more distant place. While busy in making preparations for this purpose, the bright helmets of French cuirassiers were again seen glittering through the trees; and they appeared to be in considerable force: but, undismayed at the sight, he instantly called up his men, and again prepared for resistance. He fired the first and second time with the same success as before, his gardener standing beside him to load his musket: as ill luck would have it, his gardener fell, wounded by a shot from the enemy; and all his peasants, frightened at what they saw, took to their heels and ran away to conceal themselves. The French, then rushing upon him, were just about to massacre him, when

his wife, throwing herself between them, seized his musket, and cried for quarter—*pardon—pardon*: it was granted; they fired their carbines in the air, and took the whole party as their prisoners. He was afterwards brought to their commanding officer, and the story related. This officer, as it happened, was a Westphalian, and had formerly made acquaintance with Rogers at Hamburg; to which fortunate circumstance he eventually owed his life; for the soldiers were highly exasperated at the death of their companions, and vowed vengeance upon him. A long altercation ensued, and the officers present, finding their authority called in question, drew their sabres in his defence; but even then it seemed with the utmost difficulty that their men could be appeased. He was finally obliged to submit to every species of insult from them which their invention could suggest; amongst other strange acts they forced his wife and sister to carry their helmets for them, on foot, for a distance of more than seven versts, and heaped upon



them the most reproachful language. So little was the regard these modern Frenchmen had to female delicacy.

Various other examples of the spirit and courage of individuals might be afforded, for no one was a quiet spectator of what passed ; but it is time to close this account for the sake of turning our attention to a state of misery scarcely inferior, which next became the lot of the invaders themselves.

In the beginning of October the cold began to set in ; and at the same time the increased activity of the Russian army posted near Kalouga redoubled the anxiety of the French. According to custom, every possible expedient was resorted to that might animate the drooping spirits of the soldiers, or at least to divert them from ruminating on their condition. It was their turn now to practise such stratagems of deceit as the Russians had resorted to before their departure from the city : peace again was promised, a second envoy to the Emperor Alexander was talked of, and va-

rious amusements and spectacles were proposed. I have seen indeed a bill of one of the performances at their temporary theatre, bearing date October 12th, being only five days previous to the evacuation of the city. But all was in vain; the victory gained by Benningsen at Taratina led them to form such inferences, with regard to the prospect that was opening upon them, as produced a marked change in the countenance of all the French officers. Their communicative spirit seemed sunk, and their gaiety and usual face of assurance were for once dismayed: "*c'est fait de nous—nous voilà bien flambés,*" now and then was heard to escape their lips: but they grew, in general, cautious of entertaining conversation, and never talked of affairs but in dark hints or in whispers amongst themselves.

Immediate retreat from Moscow was become a matter of necessity rather than choice, and it was a step that could not be taken without infinite hazard. At last, as if on a sudden, the mind of the Empe-

ror appeared to be made up: orders were given that the convoys of the wounded should set out for Smolensko, and directions to the commissariat to prepare biscuit for twenty days on the towns lying in that route. These commands were soon noised through the town: after which, at four o'clock on the evening of October 18, the generale was beaten, and in the space of one hour several regiments were already put in motion towards the south. Moscow, however, was still held in possession, in order to conceal the nature of these movements: and Mortier was left in charge of it, with a garrison of 5,000 men. His first act was to remove his quarters to the Kremlin for the sake of security, since it could not be expected that the deserted situation of the place would be long unknown to the Russian troops in the neighbourhood. On the 20th, indeed, a party of Cossacks, trusting to what they discovered from their own observation, penetrated into the town, and proceeded through great part of the Twerskoi

before troops could be collected to repulse them, which was not effected till after a hard struggle.

A day or two afterwards General Witzingerode, with his aid-de-camp, hearing of the march of large bodies of troops, on the southern road, entered for the purpose of making a *reconnaissance*: but scarcely had he reached the boulevards, when he saw a squadron of French cavalry appear suddenly in his rear. Thus surprised, he bethought himself of a *ruse de guerre*, and holding up his white handkerchief as a flag of truce, addressed himself to the officer commanding the squadron, purporting to be an envoy from the Russian army, and desirous to be led instantly to head-quarters. He was conducted accordingly to the Kremlin. But Mortier was not to be deceived by so shallow a device; he discovered what sort of personage it was that he really had before him, and protested in strong terms against the idea of a commander in chief becoming his own messenger: the excuse

being on this ground, therefore, totally inadmissible, he said he should consider him as a prisoner of war, and sent him, under guard, to Buonaparte. Here this story was nearly brought to a tragical conclusion. The emperor's temper was now soured by disappointment, and in open violation of all just principle, he condemned Witzingerode to death ; acting upon one of those political sophisms, for which he is so remarkable, and seeing his captive, for he was a Westphalian, in no other light than that of a rebel, bearing arms against Jerome Buonaparte, his king and master. The general's extraordinary preservation and subsequent escape are well known.

As to the original intention of Buonaparte, with regard to the occupation of Moscow, many speculations have been entered upon by various people ; since, from the circumstance of an esplanade being cleared with some labour, on that side of the Kremlin which fronts the Kitaigorod, and also from the entrenchments and bar-

ricade, constructed before the gate on the water-side, an idea had been entertained at one time, that he meant to keep possession of the place through the winter. The 26th bulletin indeed gives an hint of such having once been the intention, although, it is added, that for certain reasons, the Kremlin is held untenable, and "the unhealthy and impure sink of Moscow" abandoned altogether. The preparations, however, for blowing up the walls and other parts, of which no secret was made, first gave to the citizens an assurance that he would really evacuate the place. Yet nothing was known for certain until two o'clock in the morning of the 23d October, when the four explosions, before alluded to, were heard in succession, giving a terrible annunciation of what was passing, and putting a finishing stroke to the wanton insults that had been heaped upon this nation.

The French troops, who for the sake of shew had been paraded in various directions during several hours, commenced their

march at 7 o'clock in the evening of the 22d; and at sunrise on the following morning no trace was to be seen but the frightful ruin they had occasioned.

In the course of this memorable day the Cossacks took possession of the town; but instead of their arrival being a subject of congratulation, this was a new hour of trial for the persecuted inhabitants. Being masters of the place, they first looked out for plunder, and next, being instigated by the people, commenced a search in all the houses for French soldiers, whom, if by chance they found, they instantly put to death, sick or wounded, as they lay in their beds.

Those to whom the French had manifested any partiality became, in the moment, the objects of their rage, and were pursued with similar assiduity. A score of Cossacks burst into the house of Mons. Becketov, near the *Pont aux Marechaux*, where they beat the women who were accused of this crime most unmercifully with their

sabres, and would have killed the men had they not made a precipitate escape during the tumult. After this the mob led the way to the French Colony, a fraternity of refugees, who had many years ago taken up their abode in one of the northern quarters of the Semlianigorod: "Behold," said one of the Mougiks, addressing himself to the Cossacks, "behold a nest of spies " and traitors whom we have long nourished " in the heart of our city—kill without reserve." Upon this address they prepared to execute the bloody design: but the venerable Abbé Savagnè, their pastor, rushing forward, besought them to hear a few words in defence of himself and his flock. The firm air and manner with which he spoke assured them of his innocence. The Cossacks listened patiently, and were persuaded by his discourse not only to obey his request, but even themselves promised to engage the people to retire without seeking to glut their revenge with such acts of unjust reprisal.



This time of confusion and anarchy was indeed a dreadful interval, which assumed every hour a more serious aspect. General Benkendorf, who arrived with three battalions on the following day, exerted himself to the utmost; yet the exasperation of the mob knew no bounds, and it was with the greatest difficulty that tranquillity was restored.

It had been noised abroad that 2,000 sick and wounded Frenchmen had been left in the Foundling and Gallitzin hospitals. A few of the poor creatures being in a convalescent state, set out to follow the retreating army, but were instantly seized by them and murdered, and the mob, discovering from whence they had proceeded, assembled in crowds before the doors with denunciations of vengeance. The thirst of blood seemed to increase with every fresh act of gratification; three times did they address themselves, by deputation, to General Benkendorf, soliciting permission to enter the hospitals where these wretches

lay. They were of course as often refused; yet all explanation or reasoning was useless; the last time, however, of their coming, the general spoke so strongly, and threatened them with such severe punishment if they returned, that they were compelled, though reluctantly, to disperse.

With regard to the Cossacks, as their name has been mentioned, it is not meant to assert that they are likely to abstain from such conduct, when incited by the rage of the people; yet on this subject we must refer to what was said at a former occasion. Many are the acts of outrage that are undeservedly attributed to them. Cossack is a term in this country, which being transferred from the tribes usually employed in certain duties, is used to express any irregular body of militia whatsoever. Every one so serving is not necessarily of their race, any more than an *hussar* in any other service is, as the name imports, an indigenous Hungarian. There were several new regiments

during the wars, as is the constant practice, armed and appointed *à la Cossaque*. I remember indeed that on our passing through Twer, a body of Cossacks (as they were called) had just returned from the army, and were disbanded at that place, being almost all of them natives of the province; they had been crown-slaves, drivers, lacqueys, bargemen, serving in various capacities, but had no further pretensions to their name than their carrying long pikes, wearing loose hose, and displaying certain powers of knavery.

July 4th.—It is on this day that a solemn procession takes place to the monastery where is preserved a image of the Virgin, which once struck the Tartars with blindness upon their making an attack on Moscow. As, however, she had wrought no miracle on the late occasion, where it was equally incumbent on her to have exerted herself, we neglected the persuasions of her devotees, and set out, as we had

proposed, on our road to Smolensko; having it in view to trace the route of the French army during their retreat.

A few mansions appeared in ruins on the side of the way, but this was a sight with which we had now grown familiar. The first objects which arrested our attention were the remains of the works erected at Poclonigorod (the bowing hill), where it was at one time intended to have made another stand against the French army, after the loss of the battle of Borodino. The road passed over a gentle rising ground on which three large batteries were constructed; the flanks of the position were secured to a certain degree by large and thick forests, but the country beyond was open and practicable for every sort of operation, and it was judicious perhaps not to risk an action against the numerous force that the enemy was moving up, especially as a reverse would have been attended with the worst possible consequences, since the dis-

tance from Moscow was no more than 12 versts.

The town of Mojaisk was for the greater part destroyed by conflagration; its inhabitants, as well as the peasantry of the vicinity, had fled, they said, on the advance of the French to Vladomir, and their houses were set in flames by the retreating Russians. The French afterwards, retreating in their turn, set a finishing hand to the work.

It was at this place that the army regained the Smolensko road, after that the manœuvres of Kutusov, together with the loss of the battle of Malojareslovetz, had frustrated their intention of accomplishing a passage through the southern provinces. The grand Russian army marched in a direct line upon Krasnoi, intending to intercept them, while they were here actively pursued by Platow and Miloradovitch, and Orlov Denisov; the first of whom coming up at Mojaisk, made a successful attack, forcing

them with great loss over an eminence at the back of the town, which was pointed out to us with much glee by our rustic driver.

But the fields of Borodino were now within six versts, and we were wholly occupied in anticipating the pleasure of viewing a spot of so great notoriety. Independent of all other considerations, this place bore a peculiar interest in a military point of view, inasmuch as it was not a post casually taken up in the course of the campaign, but had been long selected beforehand, and fortified with great care. General Beningsen, to whom this duty was intrusted, resided here with the engineers for upwards of a week ; and it was the same officer indeed who afterwards put his own works to the test, and, in conjunction with B. de Tolli, directed the chief operations of the day.

Advancing by the rear, we first passed the little cottage at Tatarinova, where Kutusov established his head-quarters, and

remained during the greater part of the action; then, after making about three versts farther, found ourselves ushered to the centre of the Russian positions.

The point at which we had arrived presented to our view a straight natural terrace of about thirty or forty feet of elevation, falling with a gentle descent in front, and extending about three English miles in length; along the foot ran the Kologha, a small tributary stream to the Mosqwa, and fordable in many places. The right flank was secured by the last-mentioned river, and otherwise so strong, that no attempt was made by the enemy in that quarter. The left was protected by a deep ravine, beyond which was an height occupied with three redoubts. Besides this, two knolls, crowned with batteries, strengthened the left centre, commanding, by their towering station, the whole field around; immediately below our feet stood the village of Borodino.

The French occupied an eminence on the other side of the Kologha, in a line ex-

tending from a point opposite the Russian centre, and reaching round the extremity of their left, which they in fact completely turned ; their ground was of an higher elevation, but not such as to afford any command within cannon range. Their position was strengthened by two batteries on the extreme right, and the parapets of two more were yet remaining near Alexyno, which had been constructed to favour their latter operations.

The redoubts on the height before mentioned, which protected the left of the Russians, were carried by a brisk and vigorous attack on the first day of the action, after which for some reason or other the plan of the enemy seems to have undergone a change, and an attack was commenced on the centre. Notwithstanding a double range of guns that poured their fire down the long natural glacis here opposed to them, the impetuous valour of the French bore them on undaunted. Early in the morning, they carried the village of Boro-



dino, before the Russians had time to destroy the bridge, and crossing the Kollogha, they advanced, and made three desperate charges up these heights ; but being received by troops brave as themselves, were driven back each time with immense slaughter. Upon this they again altered their plan, and returned to the left to follow up the advantages gained on the preceding day in that quarter. This wing of the Russians had been much weakened by the loss of the redoubts on the height before mentioned ; for what reason they were not retaken I cannot say, since the French batteries were too far removed to be able to afford any efficient support to their troops, and the situation of a Russian corps in the wood behind rendered its recovery practicable by an attack in reverse. Its possession by the enemy certainly gave them the most decided superiority, and in consequence they succeeded, on the third day, in gaining possession of the whole of the ground on which their adversaries left wing

had stood. Here the battle ended. At night the parties mutually drew off, and the Russians seized this opportunity of effecting their retreat unmolested. Their army was not in a condition to resume the field with any prospect of advantage: the French were already superior in number, and an overwhelming force was coming up ; while at the same time a second contest, attended even with better success than the first, could not have saved the city of Moscow.

The loss sustained by the two armies was nearly upon an equality ; and to prove the sanguinary nature of this conflict, it will be sufficient to say that 63,000 bodies were left for interment, an amount such as can scarcely have occurred in the history of any preceding war. It must be confessed, indeed, on viewing the numerous difficulties that were here surmounted ; on the one hand the commanding situation of the redoubts, the strength of the ravines, and the artificial aids that were opposed ; on the other, the obstinacy of the defence, and the steadiness

and intrepidity with which every attack of their daring enemy was resisted, one cannot but look on this memorable engagement as one of those great examples of spirit and courage, that not only form the pride of military history, but, morally speaking, seem to elevate the dignity of human nature.

On descending from Gorrha to the village of Borodino, we lighted upon a foreigner who was sitting in a meditative posture on the banks of the Kologha. In a place so unfrequented, a casual rencontre was an introduction: we addressed ourselves to the stranger, and were received with great politeness: though startled at our sudden appearance, he seemed pleased at an opportunity of finding any person to whom he could communicate his thoughts, and entered into conversation without reserve. He informed us he was a native of Poland who had served as an officer in Sebastiani's division at the battle of Borodino, where he was struck by a ball during the attack upon

the centre, and being left wounded on the field, was taken prisoner by the Russians, and sent to Archangel. Now set at liberty, he was returning to his native country, and happening in his route to pass over this place, had stopped to survey once more the field of carnage. The spot on which we stood was the same where he had received his wound ; and he had been sitting, he said, nearly an hour, tracing in his mind the various images of the past. He was unable to tear himself away ; the view made such an impression on him as quite bewildered his ideas ; and when he looked on these fields now so tranquil, and so different from the tumultuous scene they before exhibited, it seemed as if his former recollections were but the memory of a dream.

All, all is peaceful, all is still,  
As if these waves, since time was born,

— — — — —  
Had only heard the shepherd's reed,  
Nor startled at the bugle-horn.

**After gathering what information we**

could, we left our new acquaintance to pursue his journey, and feeling ourselves too much interested to hurry from the ground so soon, proceeded to make our survey, and repaired to the left of the positions: here we found the field works, on the height before mentioned, still remaining; and as this spot was the key of the position, we gained a clearer idea of the nature of the action than any previous description could have afforded. The ravine separating this post from the main body was commanded by a strong battery at Semenovski, which swept the greater part of its length, and the ground yet showed many memorials of the havoc that had taken place. On looking at the redoubts, these melancholy tokens were still more abundant; the interior was literally strewn with caps, feathers, scabbards, pieces of camp kettles, scraps of uniforms, both French and Russian mixed together in confusion, apparently in the place where each man had fallen. A little farther was the spot where

General Montbrun was killed by a cannonball ; an officer whose intrepidity well deserved the encomium of his comrades. A small wooden tablet, attached to a rough stake, had been erected over the place where he was interred, bearing an inscription to his memory. It had been penned in ink after the hurry of the day was past ; but the simple and classical turn of its style well entitles it to record.

Ci gît  
Le General Montbrun.  
Passant, de quelque nation  
qui tu sois,  
respecte ces cendres :  
Ces sont les restes d'un des plus  
braves parmi tous les  
braves du monde,  
du General Montbrun.  
Le Maréchal d'Empire, Duc de Dantzic,  
lui a érigé ce faible monument.  
Sa memoire est dans tous les cœurs  
de la Grande Armée.

Of these field works it was easy to see, said the 18th French bulletin, that they "were but half formed, the fosse shallow, "neither pallisadoed nor defended with "*chevaux de frise*," yet this was the most important spot in the whole range of the position. As far as one might be allowed to form any judgment on this subject, the critique does not seem to have been ill applied; there was certainly no sufficient obstacle to have prevented a body of cavalry from forcing their way directly over the parapets; and, judging from present appearances, one of them had been carried in this manner. A mode of attack, which from its rapidity, and the small comparative loss to which it subjects the assailants, must command success wherever the nature of the ground will admit of such an operation.

After the expulsion of the French army from Russia, a question of some importance was agitated, regarding the best mode of getting rid of the innumerable carcasses of men and horses which covered the surface

of the ground. The method of burying in quick lime was at first suggested ; but as it occurred that the wood necessary for burning so large a quantity of lime would in all probability be sufficient to consume the bodies themselves, the scheme was dropped, and the more summary process preferred of committing them at once to the flames. They lay therefore during the hard season in a frozen state, until a short time before the thaw was expected to commence ; they were then hewn in pieces, collected in heaps, and consumed upon piles of wood.

It was absolutely necessary to dispose of them in some way, and it does not appear that a better could have been adopted, however repugnant to one's feelings the process may appear.

Considerable fear prevailed at one time, lest pestilential fevers should be generated from the corruption of these carcasses, in case they had been left to rot in the open air. It was asserted, however, in opposition to this doctrine, that the *miasmata* arising



from animal putrefaction were not found by experience to possess those detrimental qualities which attend the decomposition of vegetable matter. With what truth such an argument may be urged, let those who are better informed take upon themselves to decide ; but certain it is that many of the bodies were left unburied, exposed only to the rapacity of the wolves, or the still more tedious operation of the forest ants ; nor at any place, as far as I could hear, did those who lived near suffer the ill effects from this circumstance, which had been so often predicted.

The village of Gridnevo, our next station, was the spot where Buonaparte encamped the night before he marched for Borodino, and had since that time been the scene of some trifling affairs. Our post-master had remained here during the whole campaign, witnessing the march and retreat of both parties ; but he seemed to know very little concerning what had passed, as it may be said, before his eyes, which, nevertheless,

we found to be no uncommon case with this class of people. It is worthy of remark, that this part of the road, the hamlet itself, the Kolozski monastery, and other neighbouring places, were frequently surprised and taken possession of by detachments from the army of Witzingerode, during the occupation of Moscow, who sometimes intercepted, by these movements, the communications of the French with their rear.

Gshatsk shewed less signs of ravage than any other town in this line ; but Viasma, on the other hand, presented as dismal a scene as we had any where witnessed. Nearly all the large houses were gutted and burnt. It contained before the war 15,000 inhabitants, and might boast a name of high antiquity, being formerly made an appanage to the family of the grand dukes of Russia. Some traces of the old towers and ramparts were still discoverable, though these too had been in part demolished during the war.

At the entrance to the town from the

east was a large plain, where the retreating army of the French drew up, and sustained the attacks of the corps of Orlow Denisov and Miloradovitch, on the 21st and 22d of October, (O. S.) Their exhausted state compelled them on the latter day, after some severe fighting, to give way, and being thrown into disorder, they were obliged to take to flight with precipitation. The victorious Russians pursued them through the streets with trumpets sounding and colours flying; and upwards of 6000 men were sacrificed to their fury.

The hatred and exasperation of all ranks of people against the French was so inveterate, that even at the time of our making this journey, their feelings ran as high as ever, in testimony of which I must add the narrative of a circumstance that occurred.

It will be necessary to apologise to my reader, who has accompanied me thus far, for detaining him with any tale of self adventure; but the story is so illustrative of

the manners as well as sentiments of the people, that I hope to stand excused for its introduction.

Being employed in sketching a view on the skirts of the town, a citizen came up, and after surveying me with symptoms of disapprobation, shouted in a vehement tone, “ *Plan—espion—Napoleon dobry—Francosen !*” I was unable to answer this strange disjointed jargon, but by a single “ *Engliska,*” which, as it asserted the name of my country in answer to his last accusation, I thought might prove satisfactory, and continued my occupation. This seemed to inflame his rage the more; he again addressed me with the same words, and received the same answer; for a moment it pacified him, and, in the true Russian style, he proceeded to offer me the kiss of peace; I naturally enough refused his overture, venting, in my turn, a few loud words, as unintelligible, no doubt, to him as his had been to me. Supposing this to be fresh ground of suspicion against me, or perhaps

fancying himself insulted, he became frantic with passion, he spit on his fingers several times, rolled himself with violent gestures on the ground ; but finding that I still continued my work, he said no more, but left me, and I congratulated myself on being rid of my troublesome companion. Presently he returned, followed by a serjeant of the police and a third person ; another furious volley of abuse now succeeded from all the three, and the police officer without farther delay seized upon me. The affair was thus growing serious, and as I had seen these men, upon taking any person into custody, usually give the culprit a thwack upon the back as if in detestation of his crime, I expected no better treatment, and prudently struck him myself by way of prevention. He immediately loosed his hold, recoiling a few steps in amazement ; it was an assertion of superiority : he was indignant ; but it availed me nothing, for he called up six or seven *soldats* of his guard to attend him. I, on the other hand, vociferated for

my domestic, who was within hail; but since my force, even with this accession, was far out-numbered by that of my adversaries, it seemed wise to essay a parley, and I directed the servant to explain to these brutes the nature of my occupation, and display at the same time a written permission which was furnished me by the vice governor of Moscow, allowing me to make drawings any where within his province. It was something in justification at least, though by no means a document thoroughly satisfactory; a similar certificate from the governor of this district would, however, have served no better, for these men were unable to read a single word, and using less ceremony with the poor fellow than they thought it right to do with me, they seized upon him as an accomplice in my treasonable act, and hurried him to prison, for it was hard by, without staying to listen to his harangue. Having done this, they surrounded me in a ring, their numbers being now very much increased by

the arrival of several idle Mougiks whose curiosity had attracted to the place : and since their threats were growing every instant more violent, and, furthermore, as a priest, who accidentally passed by at this juncture, appeared rather to encourage the outcry than inclined to take my part, I yielded to the repeated solicitations of the turnkey, and entered the prison door.

My friend Dr. Macmichael was sitting in the carriage before the door of our hotel, when these people, having disposed of me, came up, and assailed him with similar imprecations. A Russian seigneur, who happened to be present, naturally enough inquired into the reason of so large a mob having assembled, and when he was informed of their suspicions, politely enough asked my friend permission to examine his passport : this he read, and explained for the edification of the people, and then dismissed them with a severe reprimand.

I was, however, detained two hours in prison, when, after threatening the jailer

with punishment unless he carried me instantly to the governor, we set out for his residence. On arriving there I was announced by one of his messengers, whom we met on our way, and his excellency received me with great politeness, anticipating my address by begging my pardon, as he said, for himself and for his poor people. —“ I hope you will excuse them, they are “ so ignorant, and have suffered so much— “ they are sorely exasperated against the “ authors of their sufferings, and in their “ eyes every foreigner is a Frenchman.” I assented to what he said, but could not help letting a wish escape me that they should be corrected in the very awkward mode they adopted of expressing these sentiments. He immediately turned round, and ordered the punishment of the “ *coup de baton*,” to the serjeant of police. I now interceded in my turn, begging that no measure should be put in execution which might check, even in a single individual, those rude feelings of Russian patriotism to which all Europe, in



the present era, stood so much indebted ; and professed that I should be satisfied if he were brought to beg my pardon in token of his error. He returned a polite answer, and the offender was immediately ordered up and prostrated before me, uttering some strange noises in penitence, which, though I comprehended not one word, had, nevertheless, a most agreeable and refreshing sound.

In some measure the interruption I received was not unmerited, having been often before cautioned by the civil officers of government, in various places, to avoid making sketches ; but the temptation, while viewing places so interesting as these, could not be resisted ; besides, the accident was an amusing one, and it may be said to be something at least in the way of novelty, to have seen the inside of a Russian jail.

The prisoners immediately on my entrance had assembled around me with eager and inquiring looks, losing no time to signify by signs, according to the force of their

respective imaginations, that I should be shot, or knouted, or hung; all seemed agreed as to my guilt and my certain condemnation, varying only in the apportionment of my sentence. One poor fellow, indeed, to whom I had given some few copecks in the morning during the hour they are permitted to beg in the town, ventured to hint (though diffidently) that perhaps they might have selected a worse man. Another contented himself with making a few remarks on my dress, adding, he had remembered a person of his own condition who quitted his village about twenty years ago, with a passport to go to Petersburg, and returned habited in as fine clothes as what I then wore.

As they all seemed communicative, I inquired in my turn, through the medium of my servant as an interpreter, the reasons for which they were severally confined in this dismal place of abode, when some told me they were detained for small debts, others for small thefts, and a considerable

number said they were slaves, imprisoned on different grounds, by the sentence of their master. Among these were a man and boy, who had served as coachman and postilion in the household of a neighbouring seigneur: they probably deserved punishment, yet their fate appeared peculiarly hard. Having gone out in the morning to water the horses, they brought back one of them, from some accident or other, with a broken knee: the master, enraged at what had happened, ordered them instantly to prison, where, for the first week, they were daily beaten with rods; and had since that time, a period of eighteen months, been kept in close custody. It is to be hoped that such instances of oppression and cruelty are rare.

On leaving this town we passed several *tumuli* on the road side, covering the remains of those who had fallen in the war of 1812: every place, indeed, bore the memory of some event connected with that campaign: at Jeremin 1000 prisoners were taken by

Platow ; at Semlovo, again a thousand ; and at the latter place our post-master related, in simple terms, how the French soldiers were scattered in parties here and there ; how they sheltered themselves behind the banks ; how large bodies of the retreating army had three times passed and repassed the bridge in front of his house, repulsing their enemy, and being repulsed themselves in turn, with many amusing observations on what he saw.

Hitherto the French army had retreated in an orderly style, and defended themselves with courage ; nevertheless they were placed in circumstances of the severest distress ; they were closely pursued by Platow with a large force of cavalry, while but a small division of their own could be mustered, and that both in bad condition, and diminishing daily in strength from the want of provender. Even during the stay at Moscow much distress had been occasioned by this circumstance : though the men frequently slept in the streets, that they might

place their horses under shelter of the house, and took every care of them, yet a great mortality prevailed. Nothing could cripple their means of defence more effectually; not only were their dragoons dismounted, but, for the same reason, they were forced to blow up more than an hundred ammunition waggons, within the two or three last stages, and to abandon the greater part of their artillery for want of horses to carry it away. It was curious, we were told, to trace, in the course of their flight, the successive diminution in size of the different pieces of ordnance which were taken; at first the twelve pounders, then the eights, and then the sixes: their means of transport constantly decreasing as they advanced farther on their march.

In the mean while the Russian troops, in pursuit, were furnished with every article that could assist their activity; they harassed the enemy incessantly, driving in on every side their scattered parties, and cutting off their only hopes of finding sub-

sistence, and even venturing upon the line of march they were about to make. Orlov Denisov pushed on so far on the 25th, (O. S.) that he intercepted a convoy of thirty waggons laden with provisions, which were coming up from beyond Dorogobusch.

But now a fresh source of calamity arose; the severe cold set in unusually early this year, and aggravated in every way the sufferings to which they were exposed. The men, no longer capable of exertion, dropped in numbers by the road, overpowered by famine or exhausted by fatigue: listless, inactive, and unable to defend themselves, they yielded an easy prey to the victors; and, in short, here was felt the commencement of that fatal period which few ever lived to see completed.

This account of the calamities they here underwent recalled to my mind the history of two Spanish children whom I remember to have seen in the Foundling Hospital at Petersburg. They were, as far as could be

ascertained from their account, the offspring of a chaplain from Madrid, accompanying the division of Spanish forces employed in the French service during the late invasion of Russia. He, however, died at Moscow, and the mother, who had been delivered of an infant during their stay, fearing to hazard the vengeance of the inhabitants in their return to the city, endeavoured with their little family to accompany the retreating army. Her strength seems to have been very unequal to the attempt; and when they last saw her she was lying on the road-side unable to proceed, her body doubtless perfectly exhausted, and her mind, as might be gathered from their description, in a complete state of delirium. The daughter, though only eleven years of age, took charge of her brother as well as her infant sister, whom she carried on her back for many leagues. This little party followed the troops during all the severity of the weather without any other provision than the few scraps of horse-flesh or offal

which the half-starved soldiers could spare from their meals. They passed Viasma and Smolensko unhurt, and after many hair-breadth escapes, they at length reached Krasnoi. Here a great action was fought; and the children, happening to take alarm at the appearance of a squadron of Cossacks, fled to conceal themselves in the forest: they remained there for two days without any food, and would have perished but for the accidental discovery of a Russian soldier, who found them crawling, as well as their little remaining strength would permit them, along the snow. Their feet were entirely bare, and being seized by the frost, had become useless: their language was not understood; and had they even been skilled in the Russian tongue, their voices, feeble and inarticulate, could have availed them nothing; their appearance, however, was sufficient to proclaim their situation, and to ensure them commiseration in this country. The Grand Duke Constantine happened,



soon afterwards, to fall in with them, and ordered them to be well fed and clothed, finally taking care to secure them a place in this asylum. They were of an intelligent countenance, and were said to possess some talent ; and we must hope the singular story of the first part of their lives will be followed by a more happy career in the land that has adopted them.

July 7.—We passed the little stream of the Osma at a comfortless hour in the chill of the morning; the rafters and half-burnt stakes of the bridge, which was destroyed during the retreat, were still remaining, and the steep banks seemed yet to bear the marks of the tumult which had taken place. Amidst the hazy uncertain twilight, it was not difficult to picture to the imagination the plain around, scattered with carts, and waggons, and cannon, all abandoned at this spot ; or to fancy a thousand miserable wretches that wandered up and down the water side, in vain looking for a passage, or

the sound of the half stifled cries of the drowning soldiers mingled with the triumphant shouts of their pursuers.

Those, however, who surmounted this difficulty found a season of relief: at the distance of about eight versts, they succeeded in gaining the heights above Dorogobusch, a situation which commanded the town, the road, and the river Dnieper; and so strongly were they posted here, that they defied for a while the utmost efforts of the Russian troops: some parties, who were fortunate in their time of arrival and departure, gaining upwards of two days rest.

Dorogobusch is gaily described in the French bulletins as a "town of 10,000 souls and eight steeples:" and we found it, even in its present state, no unpleasing station. Its ruinous aspect was enlivened by the presence of several bands of country people indulging in the humours of a fair; and the rafts on the Dnieper were crowded with a variety of figures dressed in all the finery of the Russian costume.

It was an annual assembly of the people from the neighbourhood, at which certain rustic festivities were kept up for the space of three days, and a merry meeting it appeared, in spite of the late unfortunate events: on the last of these days it was the chief resort of persons of a better condition in life, who came to purchase provisions for their household store; such being the custom of the country, and, indeed, one that is dictated by necessity in so wild a district.

We were introduced to some of the country gentlemen by an amusing accident. Having been observed in the company of two French officers, during great part of the morning, who were then on their return from captivity, it was our lot to be again mistaken for natives of that country.—*Ah! Messieurs, vous êtes de retour donc!—quel plaisir que ce de révoir votre patrie, vos peres, vos meres, peut être vos enfans!—Oui, c'est vrai: mais notre absence a été bien recompensée par le voyage que nous venons de*

*faire dans votre pays, si intéressant a plusieurs egards.—Helas ! Messieurs ce voyage, dont vous parlez, nous a coûté diablement cher.—Comment, donc ?—pardon—*here we were interrupted by one of the ladies with whom we had before held some conversation, and the mistake being rectified, they overpowered us with expressions of esteem and regard. We passed afterwards some time in their company, the ladies chiefly entertaining us with complaints of the great want of British manufactures, stuff for gowns, &c. and when this topic was exhausted, the former gave us long stories of their Cosaquing with their domestics in the forests and fields during the course of the late war: some of them had received the order of Vladomir for their services, but the narratives contained nothing new.

From this place it was that the corps of Murat turned off from the Smolensko road, directing their march upon Duchowschtschina, whither they were followed by the indefatigable Platow. After their se-

paration, the main body of the French army seeing that Miloradovitch was already in advance on their flank, quitted their position at Dorogobusch, and again set out on their road. The tract they here passed over appeared to us much more diversified with hill and dale than what we before had traversed, and intersected less frequently by lines of forests, affording in many respects an advantage to the retreating army. As to the present general aspect, to speak of those parts which were remote from the towns, they had never been in a cultivated state, and the marks of ravage were therefore not very easily traced. The wooden cabins of the people were rebuilt almost as soon as destroyed, the posts had been re-established within these few months, and except for the scarcity of horses, and murmurs of our drivers at being compelled to their duty when other employment called for their exertion, we should have remarked few visible symptoms of the late disasters.

The feeling of the peasants nevertheless

sufficiently manifested, in eternal execrations of the French, and every thing belonging to that nation, a sentiment which they had before displayed, as furiously by their actions as now by words. It was during this part of the retreat that, emboldened by their apparent weakness, the rustics ventured to attack detached parties and stragglers wherever they found them unsupported; and when once fallen within their power, they had no chance of escaping assassination. In some places they burned them within their cottages; in others they would excavate a pit, and throw in as many of the prisoners as they could collect; inviting them courteously with a few French phrases,—*Entrez, Messieurs—je vous en prie—soyez tranquille—il y a assez de place—entrez, entrez:*—when they had filled the hole sufficiently, they threw in the mould, and buried the whole party alive. Many, it was said, also bought prisoners from their escort, for the pleasure of killing them with their own hands: how far this is true, I know

not; but the number that perished on the road from fatigue or ill-usage both here and in other parts of Russia was inconceivably great.

An officer, who had been marched from this province to the borders of the White Sea, informed me that out of 1,400 men, with whom he set out, only 400 finally arrived at their destination. After they had passed Novogorod, they proceeded on their route unaccompanied by any military escort; and the peasants taking advantage of the circumstance not only abridged them of their food, but frequently murdered them on the most trifling pretences.

July 9.—We now crossed the Dnieper on one of the rafts of the country, and had travelled a few versts in the valley through which it winds its course, when on a sudden turn of the road the hills opened, and disclosed at a short distance a view of Smolensko. It was no longer the “Volcano of fire,” but a quiet and peaceful scene. The heights on which the town stood shewed the

St. Peter's Basilica







domes of the venerable cathedral rising majestically over their summit, while their sides, from the top to the very base, were covered with trees and gardens in rich luxuriance; the few ruined houses that were discoverable at this distance, together with the turrets and ancient walls that encircled them, rather lent a picturesque effect to the scene than excited any feeling of horror. Advancing a little farther, we entered the suburbs on the right bank of the river, the same which had suffered from the conflagration that took place at the close of the battle of Smolensko. These too had now been entirely rebuilt; and, among other signs of renovation, the old wooden bridge over the Dnieper, which had been destroyed by the retreating army of the Russians, was supplied by one of a light military construction, the work of the French engineers.

As we drove up the hill we heard the sound of music, and observed a display of lights in the streets that betokened some occasion of public rejoicing. The gover-

nor, it seemed, had issued orders that the citizens should illuminate on this night, in honour of the general success of the allied arms, and the capture of Paris. It was done (*à la Russe*) about three months after the event had taken place; but of all people, we had the least reason to complain of the circumstance: and we gratified our curiosity by strolling about for some hours in the dusk, to view this exhibition of loyalty. It could not be called splendid in comparison with the similar spectacles that the same events had given birth to elsewhere; but when we beheld these signs of triumph glittering amidst the desolated mansions of Smolensko, it must be confessed they excited a feeling far beyond the charm of the most splendid pageantry which art could have devised.

On the next morning we rose early, to make a second tour round the town. The cathedral, notwithstanding all the reports in circulation, we found was uninjured, and afforded a fine specimen of the style of ecclesiastical magnificence in this country.

But this building stood almost single amidst heaps of ruins: the scene at hand presented a detail far different in its aspect from the gay prospect which before had flattered the eye. The chief street of the town, the great square, even to the very house which was pointed out as having been the lodging of Buonaparte, had all suffered the same destruction. The walls too of the town were breached in several parts, and the towers, on which batteries of howitzers had been planted during the action of the 18th of August, were in a very shattered state. Besides the devastation of that day, the retreating French army occasioned much mischief, and many private houses were burnt and ransacked by them, which had escaped the hands of the Russian incendiaries.

The power of defence of these ancient fortifications had been aided here and there by the addition of modern out-works, and, upon the whole, the place must have been regarded as a very strong and commanding

post at the time of the first approach of the French. When it had passed into their possession, it might have enabled Buonaparte, had he been content to remain there for the winter, to have given a very different termination to his campaign in the following year, and, if no enemy had started in his rear, probably to compass the destruction of the Russian Empire.

We saw the field of battle, and the positions which the Russians occupied at about three versts in advance of the place, on the road to Witepsk. The two armies were ranged on the opposite sides of an extensive ravine. The Russians were strongly posted, but the operations of the French on their left flank, which threatened, at one time, almost to cut off their communications with the town, obliged them to fall back on the third day, and in executing this movement they suffered severely. They were, however, not so dispirited as their enemies represented them to have been ; and, notwithstanding the boastful air of the French bulletin,

Buonaparte experienced a resistance here which he had but little expected. It is asserted, indeed, that, foreseeing, from the obstinacy with which this struggle was maintained, the sanguinary nature of his future campaigns, he ordered some hundred officers immediately to the rear, with their heads bandaged as if they had been wounded, giving them secret directions to return and assist in forwarding the discipline of his new levies in Poland, because recruits would be wanted for his army.

What were, at that period, the feelings of the poor citizens of Smolensko, it would be a difficult task to describe: they had previously been fed with the most flattering tales: the emperor, as well as Barclay de Tolli, who passed through a short time before, assured them all was well; and yet in a few days the enemy shewed themselves at their very gates. They were then, at a moment's warning, ordered to leave their homes and follow the flying army, for that Smolensko, "was to be a city no more."

Even this notification was, in some instances, followed by rigorous enforcement: many inhabitants were actually torn away from their houses, and the few that ventured to stay behind were afterwards severely called to account by the police for disobedience of orders.

Those who had been the cause of all these miseries were destined to suffer a heavy retribution in the months that succeeded, as has been partially related above.

Buonaparte entered Moscow in September, with an army of 100,000 men, and he arrived at Smolensko on the 9th of November on his return with the remains, mustering about 60,000 strong; many of them unarmed, and otherwise unfit for duty. Here he halted three days, which was no more than was absolutely necessary, from their disorganised state; and although much abuse has been lavished on him for his delay, it should be remembered that the French troops executed a march of 985 versts, from Malojaroslavetz to Wilna, in the space of 49

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days, including five engagements, which, with so large a body, even if they had been in good condition, well equipped, and under excellent discipline, it would be held no inconsiderable task to perform.

As soon, however, as it was known that Kutusow had advanced in the direction of Krasnoi, Buonaparte was forced to proceed; and his harassed troops marched from hence to the endurance of fresh aggravations of suffering and misfortune.

It was impossible, indeed, effectually to restore the system of the army, though the increasing want of regularity added so infinitely to their calamities. The sudden death or frequent illness of some, and the capture of others, incapacitated the several necessary departments, and prevented a regular distribution even of the means of assistance that were at hand; while, as is wont in so desperate a situation of affairs, private feeling absorbed in every one both his wishes for the public good and his sense of individual duty.



The official returns published in Russia of the losses of the French army, from the 19th of June, 1812, to the end of the year, are as follows:—besides which a large number perished unheard of and unaccounted for.

| Killed and wounded. |               | Prisoners. |               | Left in the hospitals. | Colours, standards and ensigns. | Cannon. | Muskets. | Powder waggon and cartridge chests. |
|---------------------|---------------|------------|---------------|------------------------|---------------------------------|---------|----------|-------------------------------------|
| Generals.           | Officers, &c. | Generals.  | Officers, &c. |                        |                                 |         |          |                                     |
| 10,144              | 128,471       | 52,898     | 186,350       | 12,360                 | 78                              | 1,124   | 66,109   | 5,035                               |

The number of human corpses that were burnt after the retreat are stated in an official list at no less an amount than 293,612, and of the bodies of horses 123,142.

If we deduct 45,000 Austrians and Prussians, who returned to their respective countries, out of the whole army employed in various parts, amounting on paper to 570,000 men, only between 30,000 and 40,000 escaped ; and of those who actually entered Russia scarce 10,000.

The loss of the Russians was also very extensive, from the severity of the weather, and the hardships they underwent: exclusive of the corps they left to observe the fortresses in their rear, the army, on entering Germany, mustered no more than 40,000 men: some of the corps are reported to have lost upwards of two-thirds of their men in the previous campaign.

But it may be urged that the very principle of the French army is, from its constitution, highly injurious to itself, whenever a reverse of fortune takes place; and we shall find on this occasion the proportion of their loss was much greater than that which the Swedes suffered under Charles XII. with circumstances nearly similar. The same spirit of national character which fits every Frenchman for the activity of war, that fills him with the strongest ardour wherever the least expectations of success can be held out, and gives to the lowest individual an insight and interest in every operation that is undertaken—this

same quickness enables him to catch at every appearance of misfortune with equal rapidity, and the "prophetic eye" is scared and terrified by a prospect which it were better should be concealed from public view.

Are they broken—they rally; are they once defeated—they are undone: a fact which has received abundant illustration from the disasters of their late campaigns. Their self-sufficiency in the end proves their destruction.

Their want of a perfect system of discipline may be added also in another cause. Buonaparte, on this occasion, would probably not have been sorry to have availed himself of those strict and rigorous regulations, whose adoption, when proposed to him, on first entering the friendly country of Poland, would, he said, have *demoralised* the army; it was better forsooth that his allies the Poles should suffer from the want of restraint on the part of his men than that his success should be endangered

for the want of that ferocity which it would have in some sort tended to destroy. The insults of his soldiers that were now daily directed personally against himself taught him a new lesson.

In truth the principle of honour, which forms the basis of the French military system, is, in many cases, a poor substitute for real discipline. It is but an ideal form, and when it is once infringed upon, when the men once feel that they are already defeated and disgraced beyond redemption, their support is gone, and they have nothing more to fear.

Such is the mode pursued, that their modern armies can scarcely be said to be placed under the correction of any discipline at all. A soldier may be shot or imprisoned, or condemned to labour on the public works with an iron ball chained to his leg: but these are the punishments of heavy crimes, while for lesser offences, for those minor points, the certain and constant visitation of which inures vast unma-

nageable bodies of men to notions of orderly subjection, no adequate remedy is provided. Corporal punishment\* is forbidden: an officer, it is true, sometimes strikes a soldier

\* In this respect the constitution of the French army is, I believe, unique: nothing similar is to be found in any other European service. With the Russians the corporal punishments are the *plat de sabre*, or *les verges*, which are switches furnished to each soldier in the ranks, when the culprit is ordered to run the gauntlet. In the Swedish service I think the *baton* is used. In the Austrian again the *baton*: a captain may, of his own authority, order twenty-five blows to be inflicted, a field officer more, even an hundred: for heavy offences the men are imprisoned, or sentenced to run the gauntlet. In the Prussian service a distinction is made of three classes: in the first class certain rewards are given, and in this as well as in the second, the men are exempt from corporal punishment; the third class alone are made liable: but all soldiers upon enlisting are placed in the second class, whence they are raised to the first or degraded to the third, according as their conduct deserves.

For the punishment of the *plat de sabre*, which is so general on the continent, thin swords are specially made for the purpose; but it may be added, both of this and the *baton*, that they are universally allowed to do a man more serious injury than the military punishments adopted with us in England.

with his sabre, but he is for this act amenable to the law. There is no need to comment on the nature of the assumption of such a power, or its consequences.

It happened in one of the early periods of the revolutionary war, that the army of the southern Pyrenees was in the utmost state of disorder; and Augereau's division was one of the most licentious in its conduct: the measure taken by that general to effect a reform was the erection of a post in the centre of his camp, to which every man guilty of any offence was attached, and in this situation exposed to the derision of his comrades. Even now, if a soldier acts cowardly, or, as it is said, unworthy of the "great nation," his coat is turned, he is exposed to ridicule on the parade, and drafted to another regiment, where he is encouraged to form for himself a new character for the future. Such is the description of punishment adopted; nor is it always without effect. But however peculiar the character of Frenchmen may be, however alive to a

sense of honour, however susceptible of shame, yet there are certain principles which apply to human nature in general, and never vary: all mankind being, to a certain extent, alike, are manageable in the same way; and it requires no great sagacity to see that these large tumultuous bodies cannot possibly be kept in real subjection by the excitement of moral principle when unaided by the more binding power of fear. The intelligence and activity of a Frenchman may sometimes compensate the want of discipline in the field, as their *esprit du corps* in the camp; but on occasions where it is most wanted, on a retreat, or under circumstances of misfortune, their code of honour is found useless and nugatory.

For this system they are indebted to the revolution, and to that mimicry of virtue and principle which was introduced by the ruling men of the day. If I mistake not, French armies were once of a different composition; and we shall find, upon reference

to history, that a different spirit pervaded the troops of Villars, Montmorency, or Turenne.

As to the army retreating from Russia, implicated in every calamity which their evil destiny could inflict, they were, without the accession of these peculiar evils, irrecoverably devoted to ruin. It would often excite the pity even of their enemies to behold the misery which the mad ambition of their chieftain had entailed upon the finest and best appointed army the world ever yet saw ; and to contemplate the scenes of horror\* and dismay, that even the

\* It has often been asked whether the French army were ever so far reduced as to turn cannibals. I have been told by a private soldier, who had survived that campaign, that he had seen some of his comrades forced to make such a meal, but that he never had done so himself. It may be fair to add the words of a Russian officer of rank on this subject. "During the campaign of 1812, "I have seen three Frenchmen roasting one of their companions, and eating his flesh; and when asked why they "did not devour the dead horses which were not far off, "one answered '*cette chair vaut mieux.*' In another in-



romantic talent of Labaume has not painted in too high colours.

“ stance I have seen two men naked at a fire, and a third,  
“ who having laid himself down with his back to the fire  
“ almost dead, his blistered flesh was eaten by the two  
“ others. I have never been able to learn that any other  
“ soldiers, except the French, did this: the rest spoke of  
“ it with horror and aversion, but the French merely  
“ with regret of the hard necessity that compelled them.”

## SECTION V.

## SOUTH OF RUSSIA AND POLAND.

**Mode of Travelling in Russia—Regulation of the Post—Characteristic Knavery of the Peasants—Jewish Settlers—Mglin—Starodoub—Citadels—Rude State of the Country People—Vapour Baths—Tchirravitch—Remains of the Tartars—Caravans—Pilgrims—Tchernigoff Kiev—Sacred Catacombs—Ancient Churches—Hindoo Architecture—Origin of Pointed Style—Trade—Passage of English Goods excluded by the French Decrees—Fair—Poland—Jews of Zytomir—Dress—Novgorod Volhynski—Face of Country—Dubno—Austrian Poland—Brody—Lemberg—Trade of Jews, &c.—Commerce in Grain—Condition of the lower Classes—Polish Chateau—Visit to the Countess Potocki at Tulchyzn—Her Establishment—Society—Levee—A Marriage—A Party to the Chase—Wieliczka—Salt-mines—Duchy of Warsaw—Cracow, present State of—Quarter of the Jews—Their oppressed Condition—Their Antiquity—Polish Nobility and Vassals—Costume—Feelings of the Country with regard to late Events, &c.—Bielitz.**

**THE strong hold of Smolensko was formerly the theatre of many a sanguinary**

combat between the rival Poles and Russians, but all interest in those times was merged in the greatness of modern events. Having gone over, therefore, whatever was pointed out to our notice as bearing reference to this object, we set out on our road for the south. Kiev, the ancient capital of Russia, was our next place of destination : the line of route lay through an unfrequented tract, and we were threatened with all those unpleasant circumstances of accompaniment, that render a journey in Russia, for the most part, so disagreeable.

It is a rare case that travellers really endure all the evils which the ill-boding stories of their friends predict ; but we had already some experience of the nature of Russian travelling, and exaggeration was not needful. From Moscow to Smolensko, a journey of 348 versts, had occupied six days, with little other intermission than the delay arising from the difficulty of procuring horses : and a week was hardly deemed sufficient for the accomplishment of 650 versts,

through a country, not exhausted indeed, like that we had just quitted, but which, from its poverty and unfrequented state, was ill provided with accommodation. "All the way," says Ant. Jenkinson, who travelled in Russia during the 16th century, "I never came in house, but lodged in the wilderness by the river's side, and carried provision for the way,—for there be small succour in those parts." The condition of these tracts is not even now much altered. Nevertheless, we set out on our road, and after a tedious journey of a day and night, by dint of a few roubles, a little wrangling, a little cudgelling, and a little patience, arrived safe at Roslavle.

At this town, as at the lone posthouses of the previous stages, it was by no means easy to procure provisions: as for meat, we carried it with us; but the articles of bread, milk, and coffee, which we thought to have purchased easily in any quarter, were for some time denied us, and given at last with an evident air of reluctance.

This sullenness and inhospitality is a consequence that arises naturally out of the habits of the country. Every native, when on a journey, carries with him his food, as well as other articles of which he may stand in need ; and since it is usual with a Russian to take his own bed, even when visiting at a friend's house, it is not surprising that he should be worse furnished for his route. Hence neither bed nor board are to be met with, and the demand for such articles is viewed by the landlord of a public house as something unreasonable.

Such is the practice of every family who take their departure from Petersburg or Moscow to their residences in the more distant parts of the provinces. Nothing, indeed, can be conceived more independent than the appearance of one of these patriarchal circles at halt, for such a sight we witnessed near Roslavle, and the party was said to belong to a person of some distinction. The carriages, six in number, were ranged in a row by the road side ; at a little

distance a fire was lighted, round which a score of domestics were employed in cooking dinner; still farther, under the shade of the trees, the seigneur, with his children, and several ladies, were seated, regaling themselves on the provisions they had brought; and the horses, near thirty in number, were browsing hard by.

As to the large number of horses employed in such journies, it must be observed that they are in general private property, for it would be impossible to be furnished with such a supply on the road. We found that the horses of the post, notwithstanding our *podaroshna* \*, were perpetually withheld from us when three or four were all that we required, and we were obliged to make a bargain for others as well as we could.

\* This is an order for horses from the crown, at receiving which you lay down the amount of duty, instead of paying it, as in England, to the postmaster: the nature of this transaction has been much mistaken by a late celebrated traveller in Russia.

Yet for this some sort of excuse may be offered: it is as necessary that the means of intercourse should be facilitated in this country, as it was before remarked to be indispensably requisite for the public benefit in Sweden: but though the reason is the same, the remedy is not administered in so salutary or efficacious a mode. The Russian government issues orders that a certain number of horses shall be maintained on the several roads, for the use of the post and the couriers, for which a regular compensation is made; and though the number varies, as well as the proportion of payment, according to the circumstances of each district, we may lay it, perhaps, at 1000 roubles per annum, on an average for six horses, which is the least number that is any where kept up. When these are not employed on government duty, they are allowed to be let out to hire for the benefit of the postmaster, he being understood to charge always at a certain regular rate: on

the chief roads, however, it is fixed at five copecks per verst; on the cross roads, as here, only three.

If these horses are engaged, the post-master offers to procure for the traveller *isvoschtschik* (or hired peasants' horses), which, being a private bargain, is done of course at an advanced price; and the difference between the natural price and that established by law becomes in such a case the cause of constant wrangling and chaffering; but it was satisfactory to us to see that other travellers besides ourselves, even the natives, were in places obliged to submit to the same imposition. As far as it was in our power to judge, a fair compensation would be about fifteen copecks per verst, but they frequently demanded eight or ten times this sum, and contented themselves with extorting merely the double.

But I might state instances of oppression by the seigneur, which would seem almost to justify any attempt they may make to reimburse themselves, by practising tricks



upon the travellers that fall in their way. Since an allowance for the post is made on the part of the crown, it happens, in some places, that, actuated by a disgraceful spirit of meanness, he takes the stipend to himself, and then, in order that the duties of the post may not be neglected, lays the burden of furnishing the necessary horses on one of his own peasants. The poor man's cattle, therefore, are not only obliged to do this duty, but, as belonging to the post-house, must also lie at the mercy of every traveller who offers three copecks per verst for their hire ; and as may be supposed, the greatest resistance is always shewn in such a case to the demand.

The cautious and cunning management of a Mougik, while striking his bargain on these and similar occasions, is one of the most entertaining pieces of comic acting that can be conceived. With a well-told story of distress, implying the difficulty, or perhaps the utter impossibility of his satisfying your demand, he leads you to pause

for a moment on your own apparent unreasonableness; and it may be too he succeeds in gaining your good opinion so far as to recommend himself for a seeming character of frankness and honesty.—Three couriers had been forwarded that morning—two more expected—no horses could be got ready even for them on their arrival; for he lost a large stud, which was carried off by the French, or died of a contagious disease. His wife and children are starving, because he cannot send his cart to replenish his store of rye meal; but he promises, if the stranger will wait three hours, to find him some horses, which he passes off as belonging to one of his neighbours: and having received one rouble for his trouble of purveying, will charge only ten extra for their use. On the completion, however, of the contract, the half suppressed smile of triumph breaks forth from the rogue as he turns away his head, and informs the traveller at once of the successful deceit that has been practised upon him; but the *argumentum ba-*

*culinum*, if well applied, materially alters the features of the case in every stage, and sets at nought the starving children, the expected courier, or the impracticability of his wishes.

In the large towns the system of fraud and deceit is carried by the native traders to a still greater degree of perfection, as may be easily imagined : a shopkeeper is in the constant habit of demanding from a foreigner three or four times the amount for his articles which he means to content himself with, nor is this practice confined to Russia; but that it should equally prevail in the country life, is a fact which fixes it at once as a trait of character peculiar to the nation : so natural, indeed, and habitual is it become, that the very children of whom we bought strawberries on the road would haggle and chaffer, consult with one another, and reconsider our offers, with the most amusing dexterity. One may venture, from the instances we saw in both old and young, to assert, that not the Chinese

themselves, or any other orientals, are greater adepts than the Russians in the school of fraud and artifice.

At one of the lonely stations in this province, where we stopped to change horses, we were much surprised by the extraordinary neatness and cleanliness that appeared, as well as civility and kind attention which we experienced from our hosts. To our surprise, they readily furnished us with milk, eggs, quass, &c.; pointed out a comfortable corner in their wooden cabin, entirely free from dirt, and seemed almost (as the phrase is) to take a pleasure in setting before us whatever they could offer for our service. Nor were they, for their circumstances, ill supplied. Although the whole prospect in front was wild as nature, they shewed us, on walking behind the house, a little garden full of every sort of vegetable, with a neat farm-yard, well stocked with cattle, and kept in admirable order. To unravel this mystery, we found, on further conversation, the owner was a freed man.

He had formerly lived as a servant in Russian nobleman's family, where he acquired a sort of polish; and taking a fancy to marry and settle in the world, he purchased his liberty, and procured a farm in this remote spot, apart from the vexation of the district officers, and still more rapacious agents of the police. He appeared it might be urged, a striking example of the improvement in moral condition as well as wealth which these people might even now be made capable of receiving: but I fear this was one of those rare instances of a fortunate combination of circumstances, from whence no general argument could safely be drawn. As to that sort of low craft and cunning which has been before mentioned, they must be charged upon them as qualities that naturally belong to their degraded condition. Deceit is the birthright of a slave.

July 16.—We now entered the government of Novgorod Sieverskoi, the limits of which we passed at no great distance from

**Mglin.** This was a wretched wooden town, sprinkled very irregularly over the slope of three small hills, besides which there were a few houses placed in lines that formed streets only in one or two parts; nothing of decent appearance, or even of Russian finery, was discernible, except in the churches. It was here we first observed the houses of Jewish settlers: Peter the Great, it seems, had forbidden their residence in his dominions, "because," said he, "my people have craft enough in their dispositions already;" yet they are now it appears admitted, without reserve, into the districts bordering on the provinces of Russian Poland. We were not inclined to find fault with this change: as far as our experience went, Peter I. spoke too modestly of the subtilty of his subjects: they most assuredly had nothing to learn from the Jews; we indeed thought ourselves much less liable to be cheated in the hands of the latter than in those of the natives, and were

delighted whenever the chance of the road threw us into their way.

It was moreover no slight satisfaction, when traversing so remote a country, to observe a people, with whose singular customs and ceremonies one was in some degree familiarised at home, differing only in some trifles of their dress, and what is indeed more essential, the higher character in society which they here seemed to maintain. They considered themselves as a race far superior to the native rustics, domineering over them in the most authoritative style; nor were their pretensions ill founded, for unlike them they owned no masters, but were in the full enjoyment of their personal liberty. The gipsies, or *Bohemians*, as they are called, are another migratory race that claimed from us the same local associations and recollections; but they are not very numerous, or indeed very often to be met with.

Starodoub was the next town at which

we arrived: a place which, though now possessing not above 600 inhabitants, displays, in several of its buildings, certain pretensions to antiquity. It was the appanage of Ivan, a son of Vsevolod, Grand Duke of Kiev, at the beginning of the 13th century, and its name occurs again in the Russian history, as the opening scene of the imposture of the second false Demetrius, the Perkin Warbeck of this land. As to present appearance, the quarters now inhabited were almost entirely built of wood, the houses chiefly of one story, and divested of paint or any other decoration; their streets extremely irregular, looking as if formed without a plan.

There was one striking feature, however, which I cannot avoid mentioning. Just upon the skirts of the town rose an high earthen hill, with the appearance of having been rudely fortified. Its sides were neatly cut to a slope, in the same way as the *donjon* in our ancient Norman fortresses, in England; not being to appearance at least



wholly artificial, but a natural elevation, of which advantage had been taken in its formation. It was similar, in most respects, to what we had before observed at Viasma, Dorogobusch, Mglin, &c.; in all which places, a church seemed the only object which occupied the area of the platform at the summit. At Roslavle (where nevertheless no church was now standing within the precincts) there was a large mound of more than 100 yards square, shaped with precision and regularity, and it had no doubt once been provided as the rest. The Kremlin at Novgorod Veliki, and that at Moscow, are similar elevations, only varying by the greater extent of their dimensions, by being walled around, and by containing other public buildings, of which, however, the church occupies the most conspicuous situation.

From the date of the towns where they are found, as well as from concomitant circumstances, we should be inclined to annex some idea of superstitious protection to

these spots, and to view them, not only as citadels and places of command, but as sanctuaries or places of refuge during the constant civil wars and broils that disgrace the early Russian history.

The institutions of the police, which may prove either the blessing or curse of the first step of civilization, according to the use that is made of them, seemed here calculated to introduce the exercise of a most detestable petty tyranny over the peasantry of these remote places: the lowest halberdier scarce ever spoke to a rustic without adding a blow. Where they lived apart from the towns, these miserales, we thought, led a much more comfortable and easy life.

But it is clear that neither the advantages nor disadvantages of civilization extended to any great distance from the larger towns: the country shewed only as one large plain, intersected with rivers, bogs, and forests: the uplands were generally of a light sandy soil, but in very few parts did they exhibit any signs of culture, or even habitation.

Nothing could be more strikingly wild than our passage over the Ypoote: a raft of trees loosely pinned together was provided for the purpose of transport; a rope made from the bark of trees served for its draught: on either bank of the river rose a vast forest, not as fancy would paint it, thick and luxuriant, but bared in many a line by the progress of age and decay, as if nature herself always exhausted her powers when unaided by the timely correction of human art and labor: amidst its shades were seen the white shirts and black fur caps of the Tartars as they scampered along in the wantonness of sport, with their horses at full speed: their caravan, just arrived, was ranged on the river side, and the oxen were seen every now and then, as the raft put off, impatiently plunging into the stream, and swimming to the opposite shore. ..

In a country of this description it cannot be that any great progress should have been made in the arts of civil life. Mechanical contrivances of any sort do but

little to occupy the minds of the villagers: their plough is the same as the rude instrument represented in Egyptian sculpture, or rather that of the Georgics of Virgil; a wooden hook turned downwards, armed with iron, and sometimes with two twigs tied on the back as handles or tillers. Their harrows were simple hurdles, in which the ends of the twigs being bent downwards, performed the office of teeth, for the land was every where extremely light and easy of cultivation. Boats of one piece, rudely hollowed from the trunk of a tree, were common both on the Soz and on the upper part of the Desna; and the only skill of workmanship which displayed itself was in the carved work that ornamented the bodies of their carts or *tilegas*, and the gable ends of their houses, that were sometimes very elaborately decorated.

The interior of the dwellings was in the same unfinished style as what we had before seen: the walls of logs were not even lined

with planks ; the moss that caulked the interstices hung out in shreds and patches, nor was the appearance at all correspondent to the degree of attention which seemed to have been bestowed without.

The whole family slept in the same room, on mats, or straw, or sheepskins, and the men generally in their day-clothes ; but the favourite station for the night was on the ledge of the stove, or *lejanka*, which is always raised with a few bricks on a slope at one extremity, in order to supply the place of a pillow.

Where an infant child was seen, it was packed with a few clothes on a square canvass frame, and suspended by strings to a nail in the wall or the ceiling : a horn, having a small aperture at the bottom, and closed at top, was filled with milk, that being suspended over its head, it might indulge itself in sucking at pleasure. A sick person, whom we not unfrequently found lying in bed in this single apartment of

their cottage, seemed to complete this picture of misery.

Rye cakes, or black sour bread of the same grain, with a little salt to give it a flavour, formed their chief diet; to this was added cabbage broth, or *schtchi*, thickened with oatmeal, and perhaps a little meat: all this is procured at an easy rate; and during the several periods in which the rites of the Greek church prescribe rules of abstinence, (for these materially diminish the expenses of the poor man's housekeeping), their ordinary meals may be procured at a very reasonable price.

The only attempt at manufacture to which I was an eye-witness was the making of oil from linseed, the plant being much cultivated in these provinces. The stamper was a beam of wood fastened to a branch of a tree, forced down by strength of hand, and recoiling again by the natural elasticity of the bough; a simple contrivance enough, but it is worth observing how nearly this machine resembles in construction the ap-

paratus, even at this day, used in our English oil-mills.

As to the moral effects of civilization, such as a sense of modesty or delicacy, this was still less to be traced in their manners; men, women, and children were bathing promiscuously on the road side, and very rarely indeed did they betray any wish to conceal their nakedness on the approach of strangers: the same was the case at Moscow, only that of the two, the people of the country possessed, perhaps, a greater portion of shamefacedness. They had in general brown sallow complexions, but not of unhealthy appearance; nor, except the marks of scrofula or sometimes the limbs of a few persons crippled by the winter frost, did we see any examples of malady or suffering. Of the latter some victims appeared in almost every place which we passed from Petersburg downwards.

The *syphilis*, when it shews itself, as it sometimes does, makes dreadful ravages. The person infected has as little chance of



being cured here as a poor savage of the South sea islands \*.

The villages were more mean in their appearance than those of the wealthier governments comprehended in our previous route; yet even here there was one luxury which never seemed to be wanting, and there was no hamlet, however inconsiderable, but was provided with the universal indulgence of a vapour-bath. In some conspicuous spot one might espy, towards evening, the wooden hut pouring forth steam from every chink and cranny, and generally surrounded by seminudes, with their leafy rods in their hands, joking and sporting with each other unconcerned. The universal

\* Ignorant in himself, and unable to obtain the assistance of those who are better informed, he acts according to the usage of the country, and endeavours to close the ulcer by fumigation with cinnabar, or some other similar application, that heals the sore to the eye without effecting any radical cure. The consequences may be imagined: cases have sometimes been sent to the provincial hospitals, where people have been discovered to have laboured under this malady for upwards of fifteen years.



prevalence of the practice of bathing in steam is remarkable. Towards the end of the week the Mougik complains that his skin begins to itch, and, whether it be summer or winter, his first leisure hour, if he possess but three copecks, is employed in the bath. The process here undergone has been often described: to judge from its effect on myself, I can only say, that being heated as in general to 120° Fahrenheit, or 130° Fahrenheit, it is far from affording to a stranger any very great gratification. At first, it is true, a luxurious sense of lassitude comes on, but this is succeeded by an oppressive debility, which continues so long that I should be very unwilling to undergo its discipline a second time. The body is completely exhausted by the strong temporary stimulus which is applied: its power indeed may be imagined from the well known fact, that it is the common custom, with the lower classes of people, to roll in the snow in winter time, immediately on leaving the bath: nor is the sudden change.

ever succeeded by illness, or productive of the least inconvenience.

The heat of the atmosphere was in this month very great, the mercury standing at upwards of 80° Fahrenheit in the shade; and this sort, therefore, of vapour-washing, which is so universal in hot countries, seemed nothing more than the natural course of things. But to what can we ascribe its adoption in the northern districts, in Finland, in Ingria, at Archangel, where it is as constantly applied during the eight months of the winter, as throughout the short period of their summer? Unable to form a judgment of its medicinal advantages, it remains only to say that it is not from the physical necessities of a cold climate that it has been put in practice. It is not common in Sweden or Canada, countries nearly parallel in point of latitude; and suffering the rigour of seasons equally severe. But probably, like many other customs of the Russian nation, the use of the bath was borrowed from the habits of

their eastern or southern neighbours, and thence has been gradually extended by fashion and imitation over the whole empire

July 18.—Our days pass here under much the same circumstances: the morning breaks, and we waken as the carriage stops at the end of the stage: the mosquitoes now begin to allow us some respite from their torment—the peasants bawl out their uncouth airs as they drive a-field—the Jew puts on his phylactery, and mutters his orisons—the caravan driver is heard bustling among his horses—and after a refreshing sleep, in which the turmoils of the foregoing day were forgotten, we look forward to a more comfortable journey for the remainder;—but soon vexations begin anew—no horses are to be had, breakfast is denied, and our own stock is exhausted; after much trouble we drive another stage, but still the same complaints accompany us; we at last contract with some old woman of the village for a few eggs and a little coffee; thence proceeding to a third station;

we find matters wear a better aspect ; we drive to a Jew's house situated in a large town ;—it is early in the day, but the opportunity is not to be lost, and we order dinner, a comfortable meal in the German fashion ;—while again waiting for horses, we amuse ourselves in sketching some of the objects around ; the police officer interferes,—we are taken to the governor, are acquitted, and conclude by drinking tea with his family : we set out a fourth time, and make one more stage—again no horses—the post-house a lone habitation in the woods ; we are constrained to wait, and pass the night there ; and so on, with little variety or relief. In this part of our route we were obliged to pass eight nights sleeping constantly in our clothes, either in the carriage, or, for the sake of the cool air, *à la Russe* on the road-side. The houses in general were so filthy that we were unwilling to enter them, and beds were at any rate nowhere to be procured. Tchirravitch was a large village of Sie-

verskoi, wildly scattered over some rising grounds on the banks of a lake: it was here we remarked the recurrence of the same style of ornamented gables overhanging the cottage front which had appeared in the government of Novgorod; though not so profusely carved, or built on so large a scale. The *tumuli* too, or barrows similar to those we had before seen, were common in the plains; and these two circumstances, accompanying each other, since this district, as well as the former, had been visited by the Tartars, seemed favourable to the opinion of those who attribute both the introduction of one and the other to that race of people.

I may observe in confirmation, that these barrows, besides other parts, are of frequent occurrence in the eastern side of the government of Moscow: one of them, which lay on the estate of Count Romanzov, was opened a few years since, when it was found to contain the skeleton of a man placed in a horizontal posture, with a stone

at his head, and another at his feet: many silver ornaments, which were recognised to be of Tartar fashion, were also discovered in the course of the excavation.

No place which we had seen exhibited so great a number of these monuments as the plains of Sedново, in the government of Tchernigoff, where they completely covered the ground to a considerable extent around the town. I know no allusion to its name in the Russian history, but the antiquity and importance of the settlement was evident from the remains of earthen walls, that had probably been erected as a defence against the predatory excursions of the neighbouring Poles.

The grounds marked out by these *tumuli* were selected as favourite places of interment by the natives at the present day: often being planted around with trees, and studded thick with wooden crosses, oratories, and other permanent marks of reverence. The general appearance of piety with which they are kept

up, their sequestered situation apart from any town, the profound veneration with which they are saluted by the natives, added to the dark and sepulchral shade of the groves, lent them an interest with which the tinsel ornaments of more gorgeous cemeteries can in no degree compare.

The caravans that we here met on the road were extremely numerous, more so than even on the line from Petersburg to Moscow. We frequently encountered eight or ten each day, consisting of thirty, or forty, or sometimes an hundred carts. A few were travelling towards Petersburg, drawn by the mouse-coloured oxen of the Ukraine, that were themselves destined for the market, as well as the goods they conveyed: but the greater part came with horses, and were bound for Riga, bringing cargoes of the different produce of the southern provinces. Occurring under various circumstances, they contributed to enliven our cheerless route: one while we









heard them at a distance, the loud shouts of their drivers echoing among the woods ; at another, we saw them drawn in long lines across the plain, or grouped in a body at halt, their cattle reposing in the shade ; at another again, we saw them ranged in a circle around their fires for the night. The wild looks of the people, many of whom were Tartars, improved the effect of this spectacle ; though I cannot say that their employment at the evening resting-place would add much to the delicacy of the picture, as it was usually an exhibition of naked men divesting their bodies of vermin.

Besides these, there was but one sort of company whom we passed on the road ;—those who were making a pilgrimage to the sacred relics at Kiev. They were mostly persons of the lower classes of life, travelling on foot : we fell in, however, at Tchernigoff, with a family of respectability, who were bound on the same errand : they consisted of the seigneur of

a considerable property in the government of Moghilev, with a young wife and two children. He had been, as he informed us, in the earlier part of his life, an officer of the army, and served under Kutusov at the unfortunate battle of Austerlitz: he was, I dare say, a good soldier, and a very well-disposed man; nevertheless I am apt to think it was chiefly the piety of his spouse that had induced him to set out on this excursion. In order to relieve the incessantjolting of his carriage over the wooden causeway, he was furnished with the luxurious indulgence of soft pillows, with which the carriage was completely filled: a practice that, notwithstanding its being in conformity with Russian fashions in general, was surely very reprehensible in a pilgrim.

We met also at Tchernigoff several bodies of prisoners, who were on their return to France, having been discharged by the Emperor's late proclamation. It was amusing to observe the different manner

in which they received the news of the success of the allies ; but, as if their affection was fed by the recollection of what they had suffered for him, they all spoke in terms of the highest admiration for Buonaparte, and devotion to his cause. The common men could not be brought to believe that he had ceased to reign : they supposed, they said, the allies had been forced to sue for peace, and, on having obtained it, claimed a victory :—that the war was at an end was evident, but as to the rest, it was quite impossible. The officers spoke of the new situation of things as a temporary change in the affairs of the great nation ; and some few, in the true style of gasconade, talked with infinite assurance of a second visit to the Russian dominions.

Tchernigoff, the capital of the government of that name, is a handsome, neat-built town, upon the banks of the Desna. It was formerly the appanage of one of the sons of Jouri Dolgoroucki (or Longi-

manus); for in this manner most of the chief towns and districts of Russia seem at one time to have been separated from the crown: they have been all, however, in subsequent reigns, reunited, and in general by force of arms. Tchernigoff in the course of time passed into the hands of the kings of Poland, and was only given up by them, together with Smolensko and Kiev, in 1686, as the price of the accession of Russia to an alliance formed with that nation and the republic of Venice against the Ottoman power.

The city of Kiev, to which we were now approaching, is called the cradle of the Russian sovereignty: some uncertainty exists as to its foundation, but most writers agree in referring it to a colony of Sarmates, who came hither at a time antecedent to the Christian æra; these were afterwards expelled by the Slaves, who, being driven from their former settlements by the Romans, about the year 400 A. D., divided into two distinct parties, and esta-

blished themselves in this country; the one at Kiev, the other at Novgorod on the Ilmen. This consanguinity afterwards paved the way to an union between them. In the ninth century, it appears that the prince of Novgorod, under the conduct of Oleg his guardian, perfidiously made himself master of the city of Kiev. While making his famous expedition against the Greek empire, Oleg passed near this place, and concealing his army in the woods solicited the favour of an amicable conference with the princes Dio and Oskold: "We," said he, addressing himself to them, "are sprung from the same race as yourselves; regard us as brothers." Having prevailed upon them by these and other similar professions of friendship to come to his tent, he made no scruple of seizing them and putting them to death, and after this act of violence proceeded to take possession of the city, which became, from that day, the seat of the united sovereignty of the two powers. The grand dukes from

henceforth constantly made it their residence, till the time at which it was ruined and depopulated by the incursions, first, of the Lithuanians, and afterwards of the Tartars: when, in consequence of the waste thus occasioned, Andre Jourievitch transferred the seat of power in 1156 to Vladomir; from which place it was again removed to Moscow, and finally fixed at Petersburg.

Amidst the toils of a long journey, oppressed by the constant heat of the climate, and wearied with the restless traveling of many days and nights, there are yet some few moments when the local interest of a particular spot, heightened perhaps by the accidental glow of sunset, or other adventitious circumstances, has power to excite a sentiment of ecstasy that amply compensates all the privations and inconveniences one had undergone. The imagination, which riots to satiety on the battle-ground, or dwells with rapture on proud memorials of ancient art,

may yet feel a quiet enjoyment in the contemplation of a scene which appears to lull in harmonious repose all the higher feelings of our nature. Such was the delight with which we closed our journey on the evening of the 19th. The Dnieper rolled at our feet, a smooth majestic river, of more than a verst in breadth; on its banks was a caravan of Tartars and Russians, listening to the simple notes of the *balalaika*; above our heads rose a long range of hills encircled by a rich foliage of trees, and crowned with the gilt domes of the sacred city.

Having waited some time while the horses and carts, near twenty in number, were placed aboard, we at length crossed the ferry, and toiled up the steep ascent, over a road, as usual, covered with planks. When arrived at the summit, a new scene presented itself: the cupolas that before were but as spots in the view, faced us with a blaze of gold, and a thousand gay colours shining around us dazzled the eye:



if we looked to the country below, one unvaried plain appeared of immeasurable extent, and covered with a thick forest, through the middle of which the Dnieper, now dwindled to a streamlet, was seen winding its silvery path into the horizon : it was a land seemingly untouched by man, and affording a prospect as wild in its character as any that the most uncivilised tracts of America could furnish.

Notwithstanding, however, its singular and picturesque appearance, we, who had just travelled through it, did not regard it with an eye of complacency, and perhaps a well-known story related of Catherine II. will assist the reader's judgment to form a true idea of its nature. Arrived at this place, in the course of her southern tour, she demanded of the three ambassadors who accompanied her what they thought of the country before them. Count Cobentzel was enraptured with what he saw. M. Segur said much might be made of it in the course of time. Mr. Fitzherbert (Lord

St. Helens) declared the place was detestable, and the view nothing extraordinary. The Empress said with a smile—" *Le Comte Cobentzel est un courtisan ; M. Segur est un homme poli ; mais M. Fitzerbert est un homme vrai.*"

Our first duty on the morning after our arrival, in the true spirit of pilgrimage, was to pay a visit to the catacombs. Upon proper application being made at the fortress called Perchask, within which the monastery is situated, we were admitted ; and received infinite amusement from all we saw. The entrance was ornamented with pictures, that, like those used for country shows in England, which they much resembled in execution, were illustrative of the exhibition in the interior ; around stood a miserable looking crowd, the purchasers and venders of crosses, relics, and various other articles of superstition. The walls of the court within also were covered with huge religious paintings ; and numberless pilgrims, of both sexes, were as-

sembled in groups, reading, admiring, bowing, praying. The stories were chiefly selected from the legendary tales of the lives of the saints: on one side was represented the virgin Theodosia, accompanied at each stage of her life (a continued series of temptation) by two guardian angels, and three or four ministers of darkness; the devils always defeated, the angels ever triumphant; and in the last painting she was represented as having surmounted all her difficulties, and arrived in heaven. The artist's imagination, however, has somewhat failed, and seems not quite to have seized on this occasion, the true notion of the sublime, or the beautiful; but we should recollect that, as in the Russian vocabulary the terms *beautiful*, *red*, and *coloured*, are all three represented by the same word that a confusion of ideas might easily occur where any one of them is concerned.

On another side an old miser is seen on his death-bed: the company surrounding him are, as before, angels and devils; the

latter are very urgent to seize upon his parting soul, but prevented by the former, who claim him to themselves, because, forsooth, he had bequeathed a large sum by will to the monastery. The devils, thus disappointed, peruse the will and codicil with much earnestness and apparent chagrin. The moral of the tale needs no explanation.

The profound respect and awe impressed on the countenance of every one we met lent an air of solemnity even to their ludicrous superstitions; and a stranger almost felt inclined to chide himself for making a visit of mere curiosity. Our meditations, however, on this singular spectacle were interrupted by our guide arriving to inform us the priest was waiting to conduct us to the relics. We descended a long staircase *en ramp*, to the mouth of the sacred catacomb, being formed into a regular procession, and each bare-headed, carrying a lighted taper in his hand. It was a labyrinth mined in

the solid rock, consisting of walks, chambers, branches, &c., ascending and descending for the distance of several hundred yards; the passage about six feet wide and coved at the top; its sides neatly plastered and stained with a black wash the flooring laid with iron plates about foot square. The remains of seventy-three saints, or primitive Christians of Russia the objects of veneration, were deposited in semicircular niches that occurred at intervals on the passage. The bodies were wrapped round and bandaged with swathings of silk after the fashion of mummies, though no part, not even the face was left visible: what was within I know not; but they were scattered over with pieces of money, the offerings of the devotees. The coffins, which were always left open, were of an oblong square figure decreasing in breadth from the head downwards, adorned on the interior with flowers of gold painted on a red ground. These personages were the same who once found

an asylum here while alive, at a day when the unsettled nature of the times rendered them liable to perpetual persecutions abroad.

The whole was formed with more care and regularity than those excavations at Rome and Naples which are known under the same title: but they were most probably quarries of stone which had been formerly worked for ordinary uses, while these at Kiev were evidently constructed from the first for religious purposes. The first possessors were, as may be conjectured, missionary monks, seeking a partial seclusion from the world in conformity with the ancient spirit of mysticism: or, to speak more correctly, they might be ascribed to the rule of St. Benedict, which had, at the time of the date of the construction of these catacombs, superseded that of the mystics, and, as we are told, was greatly in vogue with the Greek church.

St. Anthony is the chief and patron

saint : we were first shewn his oratory, and the cell in which he dwelt, say they, for years, and this, in memory of the holy man, the modern monks are constrained to visit at least twice every day. Next we proceeded in regular order to the shrine of St. Precop, St. Polycarp, St. Theodor St. Luke (the Russian), and St. Nicholas the last of whom having died at the distance of 3000 versets, was wafted hither by the angels in one hour : there was also a Russian St. Mark, who, to outdo all other acts of abstemiousness, never drank even of pure water oftener than once each day, and then only the contents of a small cruise made in the shape of a cross, containing about a gill in quantity ; and certain St. John who was pointed out being buried up to his shoulders in earth as a penance which he imposed upon himself for forty days, when he expired. Here we halted, and the priest, placing the saint's cap on our head, gave us (for it was the custom of the place) a short blessing. Then

only other persons whose good works intitled them to look for repose here were the twelve men of Constantinople who excavated this subterraneous retreat, about 800 years ago : their bodies were seen collected together in one chamber, and were the last of the series that were shewn us.

On our return to the realms of day, we heard the chant of mass sounding from the church of the monastery, and thither we instantly repaired. The people whom we found assembled completely filled every part of the area : it was a herd of pilgrims, habited in all the various costumes of the southern provinces of the empire, some of them being said to have made a journey on foot of fifteen hundred versts, in order to discharge their vows at Kiev : and indeed their lank worn looks and tattered garments seemed, in many instances, to bespeak the toilsomeness of their undertaking. While their devotions detain them here, they are for the most part obliged to lie out at night, being destitute of mo-



ney to pay for lodging, and by day or perhaps once receive refreshment, at a gratuitous repast which is provided at the cost of the Emperor in the refectory of the monastery. But the enthusiastic devotion, and superstition of a Russian is easily able to surmount all these difficulties; and there is scarce a person in the south, either of those who have sins to expiate, or of those whose quiet and holy life requires some notable act to grace its monotonous career, but imposes on himself at one time or other, the task of performing this burdensome act of over-zealous piety.

The ground plan of this building was the same, as to distribution, which seems commonly to have prevailed in all the older Russian churches; a Greek cross divided by four square pillars in the centre, with a vestibule or *parvis*, one arch in breadth, advanced in front; the rood was, according to custom, covered with three several ranges of pictures of saints, in compartments of rich gilt carved work, profusely inter-

spersed with pearls, lapis lazuli, turquoises, enamel, &c. and exceeding, in gaudy costliness, whatever we had before seen displayed.

From hence we visited the churches of St. Sophie, and of the miraculous St. Avarè in old Kiev, where ends the ordinary course of pilgrimage.

The former is the oldest church in the Russian dominions, and though not, as is said, built strictly after the model of the famous church of the same name at Constantinople, yet was, no doubt, the work of architects who came from thence; and bears on the interior many traces of Byzantine architecture. It is, however, almost a singular instance of that style in this country; while the fashions and taste of those oriental nations, whose character is so strongly imprinted in the lineaments of the Russian visage\*, are easily re-

\* The general character of the Russian countenance differs as much from the European face as the Mantshoo Tartar from the Mongol, or Chinese from the Hindu;

cognised in the more durable monuments of architecture.

The Gostinnoi dvor, or square market place, which we see in every town, constructed with double arcades, one above the other, as in the more sumptuous specimens of an eastern bazar; the thick buluster-shaped column, the pagoda fashion of the old steeples, the façades adorned with painted and glazed tiles, the bulging form of the cupola, and its situation in the centre of the building, surrounded by four small ones, all peculiarities common throughout the Mohammedan countries of the East will sufficiently prove from what quarter this people must have drawn their ideas of architecture.

It might be urged that these fashions

and may be said to bear the same genuine character as the former. The Russian face is marked by high, broad cheek bones, and a short triangular shape of face.

A learned prelate, who lately published at Petersburg *Recherches sur l'origine des Slaves*, considers them as of Medish origin, and of the same tribe with the Pelasgi.

were introduced by the Tartars during their invasion, but it appears from examples now existing that they had borrowed from the eastern nations, at a period long anterior to that time. The older churches of Russia afford so many points of resemblance to the sculpture and buildings of the Hindus, that we can scarce entertain a doubt of their having acquired their taste from that people. Nor can this be held extraordinary\*; we know that the only places in the adjoining districts of Tartary, where science and letters were cultivated, were settlements of the Hindus, who supplied the hordes with all the learning and ingenuity of which we can discover any traces. The Tartar remains at Bolga, as well as those at Kasan, are built in the Hindu style: there are also many buildings

\* See Sir William Jones's Discourses, published in the Asiatic Researches. It is curious that at the remains of the monastic establishment of the Tartars at Semipalatnia, in the province of Tobolsk, the chief books discovered were in the Mongolese and Tangout languages.

in the Kremlin at Moscow, and a church in the southern quarter of the Semlianigorod with others, where certain similarities may be traced. Again, the pagoda fashion of the old wooden churches throughout the empire, and the baluster-shaped columns which are often to be met with, are striking examples of this style.

When treating of this subject, it is impossible to avoid remarking that certain points of resemblance between this style and that of the European pointed architecture are to be observed here, as well as in that of Hindostan, as exhibited by Mr Daniell; we trace it in the high pointed gable-headed windows, in the contrasted arch, in the long slender shafts of pillars in relief, in the broad astragals that intersect their length, and in the minuteness of their ornamental carve-work: and once we can imagine we see, though in a different stage of perfection, the same taste in building which has since made so great progress throughout Europe.

Infinite are the disputes that have arisen concerning the origin of this style: the English writer who is certainly best informed on the subject attributes its rise to the inventive powers of our native architects. I must add, in answer to this idea, that on my asking a well-informed German artist whence he thought it had sprung, he told me, without hesitation, it had received its birth on the banks of the Rhine; for the specimens found in that quarter were the purest and most elegant he had ever seen, and bore the strongest marks of originality. The reason he gave was by no means ill imagined; but, no doubt, many other nations might put in their claims to the invention, on grounds equally strong, and we stand in this respect on no higher ground than our neighbours.

I must confess that, in treating this subject, it seems rather absurd to limit the proofs of identity of style to the existence of a feature like the pointed shape of an arch, which was no uncommon form in

any age, and may be traced in Roman monuments as well as those of an earlier date: but still more is it exceptionable to attribute the growth of this perfect system of architecture to a chance intersection of arches, to the groining of a roof, to the ramification of twigs, or such circumstances of accident. The distinguishing marks of its early character are the pyramidal form, the infinite division of parts, and the profusion of minute ornaments, &c.; and these we shall find, if an argument may be drawn from thence, to be alike the essential characteristics of oriental fashion of almost every description.

Perhaps it will hereafter appear that the same eastern or primitive style, which we trace under similar features in the oldest monuments of the world, at Persepolis, in Egypt, and Hindostan, was in fact the prototype of the two chief prevalent styles of the present day; of both the Grecian and the pointed architecture: since we may discover in its lineaments strong

features, not only of the one but of the other.

The rude and half-formed notions of taste, passing from Syria and Egypt into the hands of the polished Greeks, received, from the elegance and simplicity of that peculiar race, a new and graceful form; whence arose the finished symmetry of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian models. On the other side, this style, when cultivated on its native ground, and nurtured among a people naturally ostentatious of finery and gaud rather than plainness, partook, in its change, of the form and impression which their habits imposed: it received that pointed character which prevails in every structure from the pagoda to the pyramid, and that lavish combination of gorgeous irregularities that belongs to orientalism.

When this taste, with many varieties, was diffused over the whole of Asia, it was transplanted to Europe by the devotees who frequented Syria, at a later epoch;



among whom it was no uncommon practice to vow the erection of some religious building at their return to their home. It was not likely they should wish to adopt any fashion of architecture in preference to that which afforded so many associations with the sacred spot they had visited ; and being thus received, we may suppose it assumed that beauty and perfection, which is peculiar to the architecture of the middle ages, in European hands ; giving many distinct styles of this taste throughout different countries.

This digression has already gone too far : nevertheless, on the subject of religious buildings in Russia, one word more remains to be added. There is no traveller who has visited this empire without observing the curious ornament of the crescent surmounted by the cross, which adorns the domes of almost every church of any antiquity either at Moscow or in the towns of the southern provinces. Several unsatisfactory conjectures have been made on this

extraordinary union: some said the ornament was only given to those churches which had once served as mosques to the Tartars; others assigned a different reason, but the question still remains unsettled. We must not, however, forget that the crescent was not originally the device of the Turkish empire, but only adopted by the government after its establishment at Constantinople; because that city had borne it on her ensigns from the highest antiquity. The crescent was, therefore, probably introduced to Russia at a time coeval with the establishment of the cross, and might perhaps (for the schism took place soon afterwards) be considered as an emblem of distinction between the early Greek and the Romish churches.

The trade of Kiev, though it has attracted a few settlers from Germany, is extremely dull; it consists chiefly in exportation of corn and wood to the south, for which salt or money is received in exchange. But a very considerable business

of transit had been carried on, through this place, during the last year or two. The articles of English manufacture, or the produce of our colonies, which the French prevented from being introduced by more direct means, found their way into the interior of the continent, by the circuitous route of Riga or Petersburg, Moscow, and the south of Poland. Some parts of Austria and Germany were latterly supplied in this way; and the quantity of goods was so great, that a merchant, who had considerable dealings in this line, told me he had sometimes forwarded three or four hundred carts in a single day.

Expense of carriage, as was before remarked, is not very heavy; and these articles, when in large quantities, were forwarded under contract for three roubles and a half, or four roubles, each poud, (36lb. English), from Moscow to Kiev. As this distance is about 750 versts, or 500 English miles, the rate may be considered, as something lower, in nominal

value, than the average amount of the price of water carriage in England.

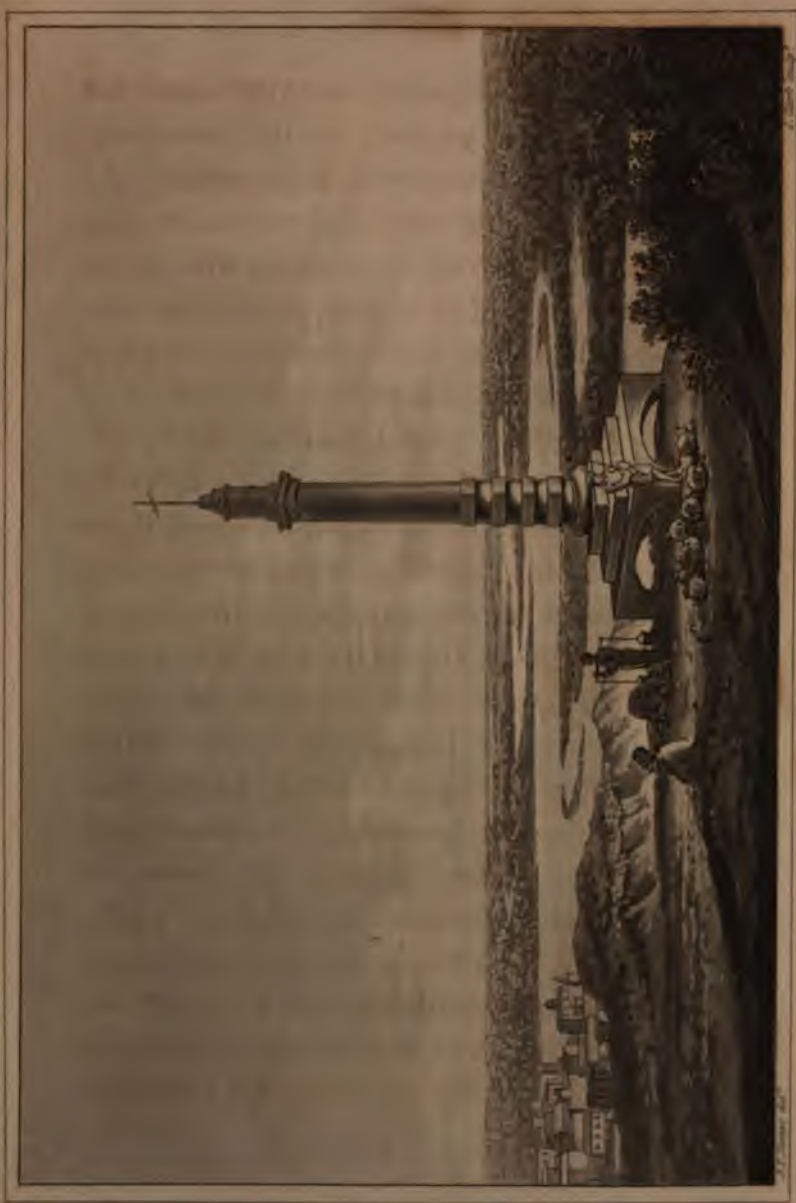
The necessities\* of life were much cheaper here than in any other town of Russia which had fallen within our route; though the inhabitants of Kiev complained that a great augmentation of prices in general had taken place, during the visit of the Empress Catherine, and that they never afterwards sunk to their former value.

The town has become, within a few years, a place of greater resort than formerly; for the fair, which used to be held at Dubno, has been transferred hither by the emperor's command. It is to this the Polish nobles, and indeed all the people of the country around, meet for the sake of transacting business, and making leases or transfers of land, while at the same time the merchants attend with stores of

\* Price of day-labour (a slave, with a passport from his lord), 50 copeks. Gold was cheaper here than in Poland, on account of the commerce with Odessa. The ducat was valued at 11½ paper roubles.

provision for sale, which are purchased for the baronial household in the wholesale way; and the concourse is immense. At present very little company was to be seen except some Greek merchants, who seemed the chief beaux of the place, and displayed themselves every evening with their ladies in the gardens of the governor.

The resident population of Kiev, including its university, is supposed to be about 20,000; they inhabit, however, three distinct towns: the Perchask fortress, with its adjoining streets, standing upon the summit of a hill on the east; Old Kiev, with its Polish fortifications, lying to the west; and below, the Podolsk quarter; which last is in a dilapidated state, having suffered a dreadful conflagration about four years ago. Many houses had been renewed, but it contains nothing very striking, except the remains of some old Greek convents, and buildings of that nature. On ascending the hill from hence, the road passes near the spring where St. Vladimir





baptised the first Russian converts: the place is held sacred, and a column bearing a cross is erected over it to commemorate the pious act, as well as to record the former importance of Kiev as the seat of sovereignty.

July 23.—We now crossed the frontier of Poland, and passed from the land of the credulous to the habitations of the unbelievers, for every house we saw was in the hands of Jews. They seemed, indeed, the only people who were in a state of activity, exercising almost all professions, and engaged in every branch of trade; millers, whitesmiths, saddlers, drivers, ostlers, innkeepers, and sometimes even as farmers. Their constant bustle makes them appear more abundant in number than they really are; and although the streets of Zytomir seemed full of them, we were informed that out of a population of 6000, not more than one-third were of this sect, when we could easily have imagined the contrary to have been the fact.



The day of our arrival was the Sabbath, and the Jews were habited in their best garments for attendance at the synagogue. The married part of the community were distinguished from the rest, the men wearing a white shawl of muslin (or *tuch*) thrown over their long black mantle; which, with the addition of a bushy beard and a fur cap on the head, gave an air of no ordinary stateliness and dignity to their persons. This singular article is worn over the head or on the shoulders, according to fancy, and is a part of their dress on which they pride themselves highly, laying out sometimes as much as four hundred ducats or more in its purchase; the best are brought from Constantinople, and are of the finest texture, handsomely embroidered at the top. The married women too have their peculiar mark, which consists of a thin scarlet stripe of cloth, hanging in a horse-shoe shape over the front of their headdresses. The colour of their gowns is, in common, plain red or blue, with a short lappet of different colour

pendent in front, and falling down over the bosom ; but on this day they were more shewy in their appearance, bedizening themselves with laces of gold or silver : the chief expense, however, is lavished on their head-dress, being, in the more splendid, a complete tissue of pearls. It is not unfrequent to see a woman of the lower class with a cap of this sort, 3000 or 4000 ducats in value. They are not always the purchase of the wearer, but handed down in hereditary succession from one generation to another ; and since as much pride is placed in their possession as in a pedigree, it would be difficult, indeed, to oblige even a Jewess to offer one at any price for sale.

At the synagogue they were seated with their heads covered, employed in diligent perusal of the scriptures ; the whole meeting gabbling aloud at once, each his chapter, and to our ears the ceremony sounded not unlike what we read of the confusion of tongues. Their phylacteries are only made use of in their private orisons, and are

thrown on the head or borne upon the arm ; they do not differ in other respects, it is true, but they seemed to be fashioned of a more Pharisaical breadth than those carried by the Israelites of Monmouth-street in London.

We could not help being very much struck with the beauty of this race of people, for they seem by no means to have degenerated by limiting themselves to inter-marriage with their own breed. The character of countenance is from this circumstance almost invariably the same throughout, though not in any way resembling what we call in England a Jewish turn of feature. The women were remarkably handsome, their persons large and full made, their faces very regularly formed, with black eyes and hair, set off with delicate complexions of white and red. The men tall and straight, but rather of a spare habit, their features small, and very much fashioned like that meek and placid countenance which the Italian painters have invariably given to

the picture of our Saviour. This peculiar style of visage, however, was gradually lost as we approached nearer to the confines of Germany, nor did it any where seem so prevalent as in this province.

Our journey was here rendered much more agreeable from the absence of the mosquitoes: these obnoxious insects had not ceased to torment us from the time we left Moscow, till we passed the Dnieper at Kiev; from that time it is singular that they partially intermitted their nocturnal visits, and after a few stages disappeared altogether; and we felt so well satisfied with the fact, that we made little or no inquiry after the reason: similar instances of their sudden disappearance are, I believe, by no means uncommon, and probably depends on the greater or less facilities afforded in different parts for the deposit of their eggs and the production of their offspring.

The spot we were now traversing was in general an uncleared tract of bog and wood: no enlivening object occurred to cheer the

way ; we heard nothing but the crack of the driver's whip as it was echoed back from the depth of the forest ; we saw no trace of human beings, but by chance here or there, under a tree, the mark of some lone traveller's fire. Our horses were usually changed at the end of the stage, in a sort of caravansera, which was a large barn upward of 200 feet in length, attached to the miserable hut of the post-master, and made capable of receiving all the carts and horses of the largest company : materials for building were to be had no doubt at a cheap rate, but these were sumptuous in their kind, and a species and accommodation that was nowhere afforded in Russia. The houses too were better finished than what we had usually seen in the country, the walls being generally covered with wooden spingles neatly laid on and nailed. As we journeyed on, the country began to wear an appearance of improvement, and among various symptoms of the works of man, we observed the crosses that were erected at the junction of the by roads

and in other spots, said to be placed as expiatory offerings in spots where murders had been committed: they were adorned in the true popish taste, with the pincers, nails, sponge, and reed, inscription and ladder: tokens that were to be recognised as significant of a change at least in the forms of the superstition of the people whom we were now visiting.

After some few dreary stages, we at last arrived on the rocky banks of the Slucz, and came in sight of the castle and scattered cottages of Novgorod, the worthy capital of the wild Volhynia. As we ascended the hill on which it is seated, we caught the sound of the "jocund fiddle," and the merry rustic step tripping it most lustily: we hastened to the cottage, from whence it proceeded, to indulge our curiosity, and found a party of Polish peasants entertaining their friends at a marriage feast, while the younger part of the company were performing the favourite national dance of the Mazurco. This dance we had

often before seen practised in private assemblies at Petersburg; but it here appeared in its native and natural form, and was one of the most characteristic scenes of mirth in this line of life that I ever beheld: it is true the women were not handsome in their persons, or graceful in their movements, but extremely lively, and all so fully occupied with their amusement, and so wrapt up in enjoyment, that our intrusion passed unnoticed.

They were dressed according to the simple custom in hot countries in white *chemises*, with petticoats of blue, edged with borders of red, these being the favourite national colours of Poland: their hair was adorned with large wreaths of flowers, and a great profusion of ribbons of the same hues hung in stripes down their backs. The men were not so gaily attired, but they had shaved their chins, and this to strangers arrived from Russia was a gratifying mark of novelty.

We were here also agreeably surprised

by hearing the chime \* of bells once more; while the tones of the pealing organ that echoed the chant of vespers, from a venerable abbey church opposite to our hotel, seemed to welcome us to a more congenial land. It may seem extraordinary to indulge such sentiments when on the point of taking our leave of any country, but there is something so revolting in the manner and conduct of the lower classes of the Russians (with whom a traveller is chiefly concerned on the road) that I confess the feeling one experiences towards them is something more than that of unmixed pity, and I believe there are few persons but what congratulate themselves on passing the Russian frontier.

The Roman catholic is the established religion of Poland, though it is by no means so universal in the southern as, I believe, in the northern provinces : yet there was not a

\* The Russians tie the clappers of six or eight bells to one rope, and ring them all together. In their churches no music but vocal is allowed.



village we had passed (unless its population wholly consisted of Jews) but was provided with a Greek church: and it is from a date long antecedent to the usurpation of the Russians, that this form of worship has found numerous votaries in Volhynia.

We were much disappointed to hear that the great fair of Berditchev, which we intended to have visited from hence, was just terminated. Being an annual assembly of all the seigneurs of the country, with their families, who remain there, many of them, encamped for upwards of three weeks, it would have afforded an interesting example of national manners and customs. The chief sale is for horses; and there was a shew this year of more than 40,000: the saddle-horses bore a price of about 400 roubles each, those for draught not above half that sum; but the value of the former had been enhanced to near three times what they formerly bore, in consequence of the large purchases made

by the Prussian government for the service of the late campaign.

Thus having failed of our object, we had no alternative but to proceed to our next station at Ostrog, a place that was once enlivened by the residence of the Dukes of Ostrogski: it is now a Jewish town, shewing only a few remains of its former consequence, in the ruins of its monasteries and the relics of its fortifications. The country hereabouts began to assume an appearance of fertility; there were some few meadow lands, and the rest, where clear from wood, was generally cultivated with grain. The houses on the road side were built of wood, in some instances, however, covered with plaster, and all certainly in far better condition than those we had seen on the other side of the Dnieper: the accommodation too afforded us at the inns was every where excellent, and the venal Jews usually surrounded us as the stranger in crowds with samples of their articles for sale, giving to understand that

money would command every thing, even to the services of their wives and daughters.

The town of Dubno had some shew of fortification; it was, in fact, formerly secured by regular works, to insure it against the incursions of the Turks, an enemy who now afforded no great source of disquietude. The place enjoyed a considerable trade before the late French decrees, which, though they had not succeeded in depriving these parts of their usual supplies, had nevertheless thrown the profit of the carrying trade into new channels. The removal of the fair to Kiev, also, as above mentioned, since it had formerly attracted near 30,000 people hither annually, put a finishing blow to the prosperity of Dubno.

Radzivilov was the frontier town of Russian Poland on the west, and this circumstance alone gave it any appearance of bustle and consequence.\* At our arrival

\* The established customhouses for the Russian trade with Germany are at Polangen, Fourbourg, Kowno,

we found the way was thronged with caravans of carts, and crowds of Italian prisoners on their return from Russia. The name of Englishmen, however, procured us attention; and having submitted to a trivial inspection of our luggage, and gone through the usual formalities of signature, &c. which are required for a Russian passport, we passed the barriers marking the line of demarcation, and arrived at Brody, the first town within the pale of the Austrian dominions.

We were here detained some days before a passport could be obtained from the governor of Gallicia, who resided at Lemberg, and thus were indulged with a longer stay than would have been agreeable, but for the wearisome nature of our previous journey. The town is chiefly remarkable as a colony of Jews, and we made the experi-

Brest, Kainkz, Preboroff, Radzivilov, Rojeiample, Volotchisk, Isachovitz: the amount of merchandizes, &c. as reported in 1808, were—Exports 4,678,639 roubles.

Imports 11,018,134.

ment of contracting with these people, who are a sort of *vetturini* in this country, for horses to carry us to Lemberg: they afford them at a cheaper rate than the regular post-house, but their plan is liable to many objections, and by no means to be recommended to a traveller. He is carried from one Jew's house to another on the road, without a chance of escaping from the hands of the tribe; obliged, however, to sneak aside and quit the road wherever the tinkling bell and bugle-horn of the driver belonging to the imperial post is heard.

We set out again on the 31st of July, and in spite of the obstinacy of the driver and the drowsiness of his jaded steeds, we enjoyed this part of our journey very much. The well wooded hills rising above Sokolavla formed a pleasing change to our prospect, after the vast and uniform plain that we had traversed since we left the borders of Finland: the country was not only varied in feature but fertile in pro-

duction, and the town of Lemberg itself struck us by its appearance, as singularly romantic and beautiful. It was embellished by an university, a large public library, a cathedral, &c. The private houses were extremely handsome and shewy in their exterior, being decorated in the ornamental style, so much in vogue throughout Germany. Indeed, generally speaking, a mixture of German fashions, customs, or, one may say symptoms of improvement, seemed to dawn every where as we advanced, introduced through the patronage of the new government or the influx of Austrian colonists.

These intruders have, however, by no means been able to draw exclusively into their own hands the whole of the vast commerce which is afforded by the situation of Lemberg; it is largely participated by the Jews, as well as the Armenians and Greeks, both travellers and settlers. Their wine, corn, and wax, or coffee and sugars,

1. The purpose of this report is to provide information on the activities of the [redacted] in the [redacted] area. The information was obtained from [redacted] and is being provided for your information.

[illegible]

\* The exchange with England was made in 1892  
for the 1st. Spring and the 2nd. Spring 1893  
and was in 1894 2-1/2% of the 1893 value.

the ground of their late gains alone, in spite of the murmurs of the Sanhedrim at Paris, have almost idolised Buonaparte.

At the beautiful little village of Moscyko, we observed again the Greek church surmounted with the crescent and the cross; for we were still within those tracts which formerly bore the name of Russia, and are supposed by some to have been originally colonised from Kiev: but here they terminated, and a bridge over the Sann near Premzyl was pointed out as marking the ancient boundary of this district or Red Russia.

The bridges, which are generally of one arch, are built of timber, and fenced with wooden posts in front to ward off the ice, as it descends in heavy flakes during the winter flood; they are covered over at the top, in order to preserve the frame-work, much in the same way as those which may be noticed in several of the vallies of Switzerland. The principle of their construction is simple and ingenious: the real cen-



tre or key, if one may so say, of the arch of wood is at a point much elevated above the platform of the causeway ; the several beams of support being inclined to it at different angles, and the apparent arch suspended from the strong frame-work which they afford. We had often observed bridges in Sweden built upon the same plan ; which I imagine gives greater strength of resistance than any other mode could effect with the same materials.

There were several detachments of Austrian troops on the road, as it seemed the design of government to form a strong cordon on the frontier of Gallicia : they were fine men, well mounted, and with their light-coloured clothes, their *panaches* of green leaves in their caps, and ropes of hay attached to the saddle-bow, made extremely picturesque accompaniments to the road side.

As to the face of the country, it was every where covered with cultivation ; it is scarcely possible, indeed, to form any esti-

mate of the immense produce which these interminable plains must afford: from Ostrog to this place we had gone over a tract of inexhaustible agricultural resource: the land was frequently covered, as far as the eye could reach, with nothing but grain. The soil on which it grew was rather of a red colour with a texture slightly sandy, and was said to possess strength enough to yield the annual crop without any other labour than that of the plough and the harrow: no manure is ever laid on, nor does the system even admit of a summer fallow: the course is simple; wheat in one year; oats, (chiefly Tartarian) or rye, or buckwheat, or barley, in the next, and so on in alternate recurrence. Hemp and flax too are grown in some parts, giving a supply to some small manufactories in the neighbourhood. But though the aggregate produce of these provinces is large, it is by no means abundant in proportion to the extent of land taken into cultivation: the

appearance of these fields has but little resemblance to the full crops that attend the exertions of English husbandry, seeming every where thin and meagre: while five times the measure sown is reckoned throughout the country a return rather above the average produce: the remark, however, as to this deficiency will apply, I believe, with almost equal truth to many other parts of the continent. In the statistical reports indeed of Russia, presented to the imperial senate, after giving the necessary measures of seed wheat to each acre, they add, that the good crops may be reckoned as yielding of rye six times more than the quantity of seed expended; of wheat, five; of barley, ten; and of oats, three or four.

Grain is the chief article of trade in Poland, and upwards of 365,000 lasts are said to be annually exported: it is carried chiefly in boats down the rivers, thus finding its way to Dantzic, Pillau, Memel, Libau, Odessa, &c. Wheat is never grown

but with this view, and often left to spoil or waste if no opportunity of sale occurs ; yet it would be difficult to say at what price it is generally afforded, for all advices are here received from the lower country through the hands of the Jews, who are the factors ; and as the selling prices vary not only in proportion to the urgency or slackness of the demand, but also to the honest or roguish representations of the above persons, the fluctuations in the same year are therefore innumerable. The best bread, however, at Cracow, I think I may state as being sold at a something cheaper rate than it was at Berlin during our stay, and the province of Brandenburg was the only corn district which we had before visited. Rye bread is the general food of the country, and so much in use, that a slice is always placed at the table d'hote, together with the wheaten roll, which is given as a delicacy, much in the same fashion as it is the custom to give oaten cake in Scotland.

The tenure of land is nearly on the same

conditions as in Germany, a portion being allotted to each slave, for which soccage service is paid to his lord. At this time they shewed themselves on the road side, employed in making hay, or in other works of the field, under the superintendence of the task-master; the tithe of the seigneur being regularly set out, with a bough stuck at the top of the cock, in the same fashion as it is the custom to mark the several decimations belonging to the church in England.

The condition of those of the poorer classes who are unable to labour is miserable enough; they are but slenderly provided for throughout the whole empire; a small rate for their support is levied on the houses of each parish, but extremely inadequate to its purpose. The roads, therefore, are constantly beset with beggars, mostly old men that have overlived the days of their strength, or been accidentally maimed. They stretched forth their hand with the beads and crucifix,

and supplicated for charity in a tone of the most abject distress. Their favourite stations were seats under the image of the Virgin or some patron saint, figures that ornament almost every part of the Austrian provinces, and with these accompaniments they seldom failed to attract the notice of the traveller.

It is scarcely possible to travel half a mile without seeing here one or more of these remnants of Catholic superstition, though they have been some years since swept away by modern revolutionary zeal, from most other Catholic territories. The more common was that of the Virgin Mary transfixed with a sword through her breast, in allusion, we were told, of a passage in the address of Simon to the Virgin Mary in the second chapter of St. Luke's Gospel, 'Yea a sword shall pass through thine own soul.' Scattered as they were over the fields, they had the appearance of Termini, or images of sylvan gods, the relics of



classical paganism, rather than of the monuments of any Christian form of worship.

As we entered a shady avenue in the environs of Landshut, we observed a handsome and spacious palace belonging to the ancient family of Lubomirski, which was the completest specimen we had seen of the old baronial style of magnificence. It was built by a famous Prince Lubomirski, who commanded the Polish forces in the Turkish wars during part of the 17th century, and had the air of that splendid and grand style which might be supposed to be the order of the day when 5 or 6000 men in livery were at the beck of their seigneur. It was fortified with regular bastions, a rampart *revetted* with brick, and a broad ditch, as was the ordinary fashion: for it was necessary to be guarded against surprise, when the little feudal sovereigns of the neighbourhood were perpetually engaged in warfare with one another.



PALACE of LUBOMIRSKI, LANDSHUT, GALLICIA.



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The present establishments of the nobility are still of a large scale, some of them now giving their livery to several hundred vassals, but the general system of life is reduced much nearer to the standard of the rest of Europe than it was in the days of the republic.

We do not hear of the villages of a great proprietor being burnt to revenge a personal insult offered to his neighbour, or of a wealthy Lubomirski being cut and hewn in pieces by an injured family of Mikolaievski. Still, however, these barbarities apart, something of their ancient manners may be traced in the appearance of state and grandeur yet kept up, and the modern establishment of a noble Polish family well merits attention.

For the following interesting account of a visit to the Countess Potocki I am indebted to the kindness of a friend who travelled in that country a few years since; and whose narrative has supplied me with that information which I stood in great

need of, having been prevented by ill health from paying my respects in the same quarter.

“ I look back with peculiar interest to the time which I spent in Poland, during my last visit to the continent: and the recollections of my *sejour* at Tulchyzn, (which was unexpectedly prolonged by the rupture between the two countries) rather resemble the visions of an enchanted palace than the sober reveries of an inquisitive traveller.

“ My curiosity, I confess, had been greatly excited by all that I had heard and read of the air of feudal state with which the Polish magnat is surrounded, when residing on his estates; and my visit to Madame P. — by no means dispelled the illusions which my mind had formed on this subject. I was desirous of becoming in some measure acquainted with the habits and manners which belonged to the nobles of our own country in an earlier period of the English history; and as many vestiges of

the iron age are still to be traced in Poland, most strangely combined with the refinements of society in a later time, I had them, whilst at Tulchyzn, sufficiently brought under my view, with all the advantages of superior civilization, and increased means of enjoyment.

“ That cumbrous magnificence and ostentatious hospitality which so strikingly pervades the spacious, though uncomfortable, dwellings of the grandees of Moscow, is displayed in a greater degree, if possible, by those Polish noblemen whose extensive possessions still allow them to keep up that profuse style of living and entertainment for which their ancestors were so peculiarly distinguished. The opulent representatives of this aristocracy are now few in number, and they must gradually disappear as estates become subdivided on the death of the great landed proprietors.

“ Of this turbulent and restless body, so impatient of foreign rule, and so perfectly

unfitted for that state of political independence which they are so anxious to enjoy, the great names who have chiefly figured in the various revolutions and convulsions of this unhappy country still support the ancient dignity and splendour of their houses. The Czartorinskis, the Lubomirskis, the Sapiehas, and the Potockis, may still vie with the Esterhazys and Palfys of Hungary; and as I apprehend that the race of powerful German barons, (though some may display as many quarterings as *Candide* gives to his patron) have ceased to exist in this "best of all possible worlds," on the extinction of the great Polish and Hungarian families above mentioned, we shall look in vain for that class of subjects, so princely in their establishments, so dangerous in the authority and means which they possessed.

"I arrived at Tulchyzn on the evening of the 31st December, 1806, having in my way from Odessa made an excursion to Bender, and having suffered all the minor

inconveniences of delays, and vexations in crossing the *Steppes*. The snow was already beginning to fall, and the following day it lay thick on the ground, where it remained most pertinaciously during the whole of my stay. I had little inducement, therefore, to stir out of doors, excepting for the sake of exercise, and no opportunity of forming any judgment of the state of cultivation in the country around.

“The palace is situated at the extremity of a large village, of which Madame P. is the sole proprietor; its inhabitants consist almost entirely of Jews, who, with their usual activity, carry on here every trade under heaven. I had occasion for a taylor to recruit my wardrobe, which had suffered materially by our late expedition over the mountains of the Crimea; and an artist was sent me of so respectable a description, as to set my mind quite at ease on this momentous point.

“At the back of the house, the ground was laid out somewhat in the manner of an

English garden ; its chief ornament, however, was a large piece of water, with a greater number of poplars on its banks than good taste would have desired.

“ This spot, as may be supposed, was, at the time of the year of which I am speaking, but seldom visited, and the large *place* before the palace became the chief *rendezvous* : here also, in the evening, an old carriage or two were constantly stationed to convey those who lived in the wings to the main body of the building.

“ The house is a handsome edifice of three stories, forming three sides of a square, of which the centre is entirely taken up by the apartments of the family, or by those which are appropriated for the reception of company : the wings, being almost exclusively devoted to the reception of strangers, are scarcely superior to the caravanserais of the East ; for the rooms, although not entirely destitute of furniture, are most lamentably deficient in many necessary articles. A tawdry and

tattered French bed, not intended for repose, (for as most travellers carry their own sleeping apparatus, a bedstead is all that it is considered necessary to provide) or perhaps a *chaise-longue* under equally equivocal circumstances, a couple of chairs, and a tottering table, a scanty carpet, and an unwashed floor,—all these inconveniences must be submitted to by him who ventures to explore the southern parts of the Russian dominions.

“Your vanity may perhaps find consolation for a time in surveying your figure in a looking-glass of the largest dimensions at the foot of your bed, or in contemplating the valuable lustre which may be hanging over your head. The writing table which shakes at every motion of your pen, or the torn gilding of the chair which makes havoc with your dress every time that you rise, may probably shew symptoms of better days in their form, and the Parisian ornaments which still adhere to them; yet they, in the long run, but ill



supply the place of more substantial comforts.

“ You will say the visitor must fare badly in such quarters, and that the host is to blame in not correcting such disorder in his household establishment ; but the fact is not so. No one can travel long in Russia without learning to establish himself in some degree of comfort under circumstances the most unpromising ; and the delight of returning to civilized society makes up for many minor inconveniences. It must, too, be observed, that if the guest on his arrival be not provided with all that he requires, it is entirely his own fault if he long remain so. A Cossack attends constantly at his door (like a dog on the mat) to keep up the fire in his stove, and to execute those orders which his servant may be at a loss to perform. The *maître d’hotel* will either change his quarters, or will furnish him with such articles as are not to be found in those which he inhabits ; and the cook, the *caviste*, or the chief

man in the stable, will attend daily to know his wishes in regard to his amusement in the morning, or his entertainment at night; and if inclined to dine in his rooms, or to see his friends there, instead of encountering a larger society, he has only to signify his wishes, and the master of the house will even sometimes condescend to make one of his guests. In the apartments which are appropriated for the reception of company (though here and there the same strange mixture of discomfort and magnificence, which we have remarked in the private rooms, cannot fail to strike the eye), a degree of splendour and taste in furniture and decoration appears which suits extremely well with the sort of homage which is exacted from all around her by the lady of the house: a stricter attention, perhaps, to order and cleanliness in the economy of the lobbies and anti-rooms would certainly be desirable, yet a more simple (and therefore to an English eye more comfortable) style of

furniture would not so well correspond with the air of show and display which belongs in so marked a degree to the manners and establishments of the great people of this country.

“ The number of domestics in constant attendance (though we should in this country consider them as an useless incumbrance), are also necessary appendages in keeping up the degree of show and parade which is here thought requisite; and it is carried to such an extent, that there is scarcely to be found a Polish lady who has not a young Cossack whose exclusive duty it is to act as her page.

“ The very hospitality of the Poles renders it hopeless to look in their dwellings for cleanliness and order, and it is fair to state the obstacles which must effectually prevent the adoption, with them, of more comfortable habits, when we mention the annoyances which prevail in the best houses in Poland.

“ In the first place, it must be remarked,

that as the feudal habits of connexion between the lord and his vassal are less obsolete here than in any other part of the world, a considerable portion of every nobleman's mansion is a mere receptacle for his friends and dependants. They come without invitation, and depart without taking leave: their stay, which is sometimes prolonged for months, may be, as it often is, for weeks unknown to their landlord; and they enter into such complete possession of the rooms allotted to them, that it is not surprising if, in the course of these tremendous visitations, the quarter assigned to them should generally suffer materially by the *etourderie* of the master, and the filthiness of the servant.

"I remember my surprise when the son-in-law of our hostess proposed to try my pistols at a mark fixed against the door of one of the rooms I was inhabiting. It was in vain that I remonstrated against such a disorderly proceeding; the votes went against me, and a few hours' practice re-

duced one end of my apartment to the condition of a target.

“I cannot either easily forget a scene which took place at an entertainment given by the eccentric though good-humoured person I have just mentioned, on the departure from Tulchyzn of one of our English friends. Count S. amongst other travelling appendages which are considered indispensable by a Polish grandee, had brought with him a considerable stock of wine, and an excellent French cook, with a very powerful *batterie de cuisine*. It was decided that François should display his art, on the occasion to which I have alluded, in providing an ambiguous sort of meal at two o'clock in the count's own rooms: the talents of the artisan were highly extolled, and such was the effect of his artillery upon the party, that with the aid of considerable reinforcements of champagne, the feast ended as many have done among people less given to intoxication than the Poles, and it is not to be imagined that the ornaments of the

count's apartments suffered less damage than the heads of some of his guests.

“If the eye be offended by the havoc made on such occasions, the olfactory sense suffers in an equal degree, for smoking is the never failing accompaniment of such convivial meetings; and though the Turkish tobacco is of the mild sort, and the practice dignified by all the parade of amber mouth-pieces, and cherry and jasmin pipes, yet the chamber-furniture remains without any chance of purification.

“I found, upon inquiry, that I was fortunate in the time I had chosen for my visit to Tulchyzn; most of the members of the family were assembled, to settle some affairs of importance respecting the property of the late Count P.: several of my English friends were also here, and amongst the foreign birds of passage I was glad to find the Prince of N., Count M., and General M., the commander of the Moldavian army.

“A short interval before dinner is devoted by Madame P. to receive the saluta-

tions and inquiries of her guests, and to welcome the new comers ; and as attendance at her apartments in the morning is by no means expected, this process is conducted with nearly as much form and ceremony as can be witnessed at the court of one of the minor German potentates. The operation of dining forms a considerable feature in the internal economy of every foreigner's house. As in Germany and Russia, it is here tediously long ; and the chief domestics of the family being admitted to the seats at the bottom of the table, the party seldom consisted of less than 35 or 40 persons : to this practice, so calculated to keep up the intimate connexion which subsisted in the feudal times between the chief and his dependants, I should have no objection to urge, if a greater degree of equality was preserved in the distribution of the good things of which all should partake ; but the choice wine is not intended for general circulation, (though I could not discover that its precise limits were marked by



the salt-cellar, as in our own country of old) and a more tantalizing situation cannot be imagined than that of the hungry vassal who sees an inviting dish, which is never to return, carried from under his nose to the side-board for dissection.

“The *après diner* is short: coffee is served, and the whole party retire till nine o'clock, as if by mutual consent, to their own or each other's apartments, when the hostess again appears, ready to receive them: if the puppets are in operation, this interval is passed in the theatre belonging to the house, which is sufficiently large for the representation of more important performances.

“Gambling, and that for considerable sums, forms, I believe, a necessary part of the daily occupation of every Polish gentleman. No evening passed without it; nor could it be expected where Count M. was in company. I observed that cards were only occasionally introduced, but that the favourite game consisted in pitching



ducats from the edge of the table so as to cover one placed in the middle. The winner sometimes carried off a handful in this way.

“Amusement, however, of other kinds, was always to be found; music, and dancing, and supper had their turn; and on the first day of the year, on which occasion all the neighbourhood were collected, as much waltzing and *polonaizing* was exhibited, in as full an assembly as would satisfy the most persevering frequenter of parties in London.

“This day was also marked by the marriage of a very beautiful female, related to the family. A dinner, more splendid in its decorations, more crowded, and of longer duration than ordinary, formed the prelude to the performance of the matrimonial rites, which ceremony took place in the adjoining room.

“The repeated bumpers to the bride’s health, which had succeeded each other at dinner with more than usual rapidity, could

not fail of producing their natural effect; and so marked was their influence upon that member of the family to whose lot it fell to give the fair creature away, that the ceremony had nothing of the solemnity and tribulation belonging to it, which is generally observable elsewhere. It certainly had the recommendation, in my eyes, of being the merriest wedding I ever witnessed: what the forms of proceeding are in more sober moments, I do not pretend to say.

“The new married couple did not consider it necessary, for the sake of retirement after the bustle of the day, to run the risk of being frozen to death by decamping in a chaise and four (or, as I should express it more correctly, in a *britzehi* or *kibitki*, the winter carriages of this country); but I found afterwards that they had suffered a still worse persecution, in being exposed, at a most inconveniently early hour the next morning, to the congratulations of those who, to do honour to their nuptials, had sat

up the whole night, making copious libations to their health.

“This evening is impressed on my memory as well by the circumstances I have detailed, as by a conversation I held (or rather attempted to hold) with a venerable old Pole, splendidly habited in the ancient dress of his country. He spoke no language but his own, and Latin, which at first was to me equally unintelligible ; my ear at last became accustomed to his pronounciation of the latter, and I listened, with great interest, to the account of his early achievements against Lord Heathfield (of whom he spoke with high admiration) at Gibraltar ; to his lamentations on the present state of Poland, on the bitter disappointment which his countrymen had suffered, when their eyes were opened to the true nature of all the promises of Buonaparte.

“ Foreigners are, in general, extremely deficient in resources for the occupation of their mornings in the country ; exercise not

being with them an object of importance. Their breakfast is an uncomfortable meal, taken *en robe de chambre*, between sleeping and waking and smoking; and here as well as elsewhere on the continent, few leave their apartment for that purpose.

“Excepting when any great general scheme of amusement was in contemplation, the immediate retainers of the house were the only attendants at the public breakfast, which was always prepared in the palace for those who chose to go there: but on the occasion of a *grand chasse*, or similar project, a great display of oysters from the Black Sea, with champagne and other luxuries, presented too inviting a repast to be resisted in the middle of the day; the result, however, as may well be imagined, seldom tended to render the aim of the sportsmen in shooting more deliberate or precise.

“The trainage being in excellent order, and the weather uncommonly mild for the time of the year, the ladies were induced to assist at one of the first hunting expe-

ditions which took place after my arrival. It was amusing enough to see the vehicles which were brought to the door for their especial conveyance. They had the air of those in use at the court of Louis XIV. with the substitution of a light sledge for the ponderous wheels belonging to the carriages of that time; and six horses were required to set in motion such weighty machines. The men who were to be conveyed found places as they could, in open *traineaus* of various descriptions.

“I should imagine that the country around Tulchyzn must be extremely agreeable in the finer season of the year. It is prettily diversified with hill and dale, and the large open cultivated spots are here and there broken very happily by masses of wood of considerable extent.

“The wolf being the particular object of this day’s sport, our motions were directed to one of these insulated woods, which we found had already been carefully surrounded with nets, and in the centre was assembled

a motley collection of mongrels ready to be let loose for the purpose of securing the game: the sportsmen were then stationed at the different passes, and the halloo began. I observed that the wolf never condescended to turn upon the currish tribe which followed barking at his heels, except with an occasional snarl of contempt, but constantly made for the nearest point for escape, and it generally ended with his being shot in attempting to break through the nets; in this way four were disposed of in the course of the morning, and a fifth was added to the list of slain, though not until he had afforded us a more than usual degree of sport: having contrived to escape from the toils into the open country, three of the large Siberian greyhounds were let loose upon him: as he went away in a most gallant style, we were obliged to mount our horses in order to follow him, and after a gallop which was amply sufficient to exhaust the united efforts of all Madame P.'s stud (who were by no means used to such lengthened perform-

ances), we succeeded in coming up with him when on the point of being seized by the dogs. He then stood at bay, made a desperate leap at the throat of the horse I was riding, and falling back in the effort, was immediately seized by the greyhounds, and shortly despatched by a *couteau de chasse*. This was the best day's sport that I recollect, and I perhaps found it the more interesting from having accidentally been posted near the Prince of N. As our patience became exhausted, the necessity of keeping silence was forgotten ; and he gave me a very amusing detail of his exploits at the great siege of Gibraltar, in which he had taken a very considerable share.

“ I assisted at various other parties *de chasse*, which were, for the most part, extremely dull, except as they led us into a new part of the country ; a great slaughter of hares was the general result, but no game of a nobler description.

“ I cannot dismiss the subject of Poland without bearing testimony, in the fullest

degree, to the agreeable qualities of the higher orders of society, both male and female, and to the great attention, as far as I could discover, which strangers invariably receive from them. The women possess in general a more than common degree of beauty, a superior figure, and great powers of pleasing: the men are, for the most part, thoroughly practised in the ways of the world, and peculiarly calculated to shine in society. Every Polish nobleman has seen more or less of foreign countries, and has something to say upon every subject; and though it may be doubted whether any great depth of information or sincerity of feeling is to be found among them, yet as casual acquaintances, few people are more agreeable.

“Of the kindness which I, in common with others, experienced from our hostess, I cannot say too much; her means are ample, and she possesses the art of enjoying them: the rupture between the two countries, of which we received intelligence



whilst at Tulchyzn, and the refusal of permission for the English to proceed to St. Petersburg, (which became, by the turn that public affairs had taken in Austria and Turkey, the only outlet) rendered our situation at one time a little embarrassing.

“To attempt a retreat at last became necessary, and after a good deal of discussion with general K. who then commanded at Kiev, the first town of importance that occurred on our road, we succeeded in obtaining permission to prosecute our journey to the capital, although not without being placed under the surveillance of a Russian officer, who accompanied us the whole of the way.”

In the present æra of general peace we were happily free from such occurrences as might have been the lot of travellers a few years back ; no difficulties indeed of any sort occurred. Our horses were good, our roads excellent ; so much intercourse indeed was kept up on this line, that a stage-coach was constantly travelling between Lemberg and

Vienna, and this in no way inferior, as to equipment, to those which are seen in France or Germany, though the journey of 96 German \* miles occupied 12 days. The inns had gradually improved since we entered Poland ; we were provided with clean beds and excellent accommodations, and a *table d'hote* was always found prepared towards the middle of the day, which we made a point of frequenting. The company generally consisted of some Austrian officers, a few merchants, and some of the petty seigneurs of the country. The French language was not commonly talked, few seeming masters of it, but Latin was used in its stead ; for to converse in that tongue is made a necessary point of education at all the schools, and we met no one but had acquired the art of speaking it with fluency. I should add, that the Poles are celebrated for their ready talent in this respect, and are

\* Equal to 482 English miles.

in general better linguists than even the Russians themselves.

It was at one of these meetings in the hotel at Jaroslav that we were accosted, to our surprise, by a fellow-countryman, who made many inquiries about England:—having satisfied him,—he told us in return, that he had been brought hither by a Polish nobleman, and employed in the superintendence of a brewery near this place; but that the speculation failed, and he met with great losses. He had, however, nearly forgotten his mother tongue, and his story was to our ears scarcely intelligible.

From Tarnov to Bochnia, and Wielicsa, we viewed nothing but a repetition of what we had before seen; an open country of grain, varied by low ranges of hills, and intersected by the small rivers that characterise a remote inland district.

The salt-works at Bochnia would have detained us, if we had not a greater object in view at our next stage, the mines of

Wielicsa, which have been much celebrated by various writers; they form, indeed, one of the largest labyrinths of excavation in Europe, and being peopled with upwards of 2000 souls, seem to afford a complete idea of a subterranean world. Some notion of their extent may be conceived when it is related that the whole town is entirely undermined: the galleries extending in length, from east to west, about 6000 feet, and about one third of that distance in breadth; the total depth is estimated at 140 *cläfter* or fathoms; and this is by the continuance of the works kept perpetually on the increase. We were lowered by a wheel down one of the shafts, about forty fathoms, being a party of sixteen seated in slings that were attached to a large cable: arrived at the first gallery, we halted, and thence descended to a second, a third, and even a fourth, by means of regular stairs cut in the rock of salt. But the more splendid part of the sight consists in the chambers or vaults,

of which upwards of three hundred are contained in the circuit, many of them of very large dimensions; the chief was that called the Psikos, in which nearly the whole of the area was filled with water.

At the time when the King of Saxony paid a visit to this place, after taking possession of his moiety of the mines as Duke of Warsaw, in the year 1810, the Psikos cavern was selected for exhibition: it was splendidly lighted up with tapers, and a full band of music floating on the dark lake, made the roof re-echo with patriotic airs in honour of the re-establishment of the Polish sovereignty. It was on the same occasion that a ball was given in the great hall in the first gallery, which is a large room regularly shaped, and of about fifty or sixty feet in length. The sparkling surface of the rock salt reflecting the blaze of the chandeliers, and the various coloured dresses of a numerous assemblage of company, are said to have displayed an

appearance inconceivably brilliant: but having no means of judging from our humble survey of the effect of such preparations, we were more delighted with many other parts than the present cheerless aspect of the great hall; and perhaps the chapel of Cunegunda struck us as more beautiful than any thing else that had on that day been exhibited. The æra of its formation is almost coeval with the opening of the mine, and is calculated to have taken place about 600 years back; the simple round style of its architecture bears, indeed, testimony to its antiquity. It is chiefly remarkable, however, for its material: the columns with their high wrought capitals, the arches with their ornamental groins, niches with the images of saints, and all the decorations of the altar, are carved in the transparent rock-salt; as well as two priests, who are represented at prayers before the shrine of the patron saint. But these wonders have already furnished matter to more vivid

imaginations, and found a place among tales of romance; I shall therefore conclude my story.

The article, as prepared for traffic, is cut in large cubical blocks, and carried away without farther package, since its quality is so pure by nature, that to perfect it for use it is simply reduced to powder; no process of solution being requisite, or any other mode of manufacture.

The net receipts arising from the mines are not of so great an amount as might be expected; they are stated, it is said, at 2,000,000 florins of annual revenue\*.

Leaving Wielicsa, we continued our route, having received the permission of the governor of Lemberg to extend our journey a few miles beyond the frontier of

\* The workmen can make, with industry, about two paper florins each per day. The thermometer stood at 58° Fahrenheit, being at this time 82° in the open air; but the number of lights constantly burning perhaps increased the heat beyond the natural temperature of the earth.

Gallicia. The country was bare of trees, and void of any features of dignity ; but the stream of the Vistula, with the spires of Cracow rising in its valley, were sufficient to diversify the appearance. Neither were memorials wanting that should illustrate the antiquity of the spot, or its claim to interest. Immediately above the river side stood a large earthen *tumulus*, that marked the grave of Cracus, the founder of the city : a little higher up the river side was a similar erection, reported, by tradition, to be the sepulchral monument of his daughter Wenda. The story of this princess borders upon the marvellous : her soul, it seems, was given to war ; and, unwilling to yield to the controul of any softer passion, she promised to give her hand to him alone of her lovers who should prove her conqueror in the field. Ritigner was the last of a long list who marshalled a body of troops to woo by force of arms the Amazonian heroine. But his soldiers possessing less ardour in the cause than



inspired their chieftain, ignominiously refused the combat, and fled before the Cracovite forces. Ritigner upon this (and indeed he could not well do less) threw himself upon his sword in despair, and expired in the sight of his mistress. To conclude the tale, Wenda returned victorious to her capital ; but feeling unhappy in the celebration of such a triumph, she also played the Roman, and made away with herself by plunging into the Vistula, and devoting herself, yet a virgin, to the embraces of the river god.

Stretching our eyes beyond these monuments, a place of interest in later history was eagerly pointed out to us by our peasant drivers ; it was the field of Zecho-kino, a spot where the brave Kosciusko, with his band of peasant soldiers, gained a victory over the Russians during their second attack upon the liberties of Poland. He lay with his men in ambuscade, and falling upon the enemy un-awares, slaughtered near half their number

on the spot. Cracow was at that day already in the hands of the Poles, this success seemed to rouse the whole nation at once to exertion, and faint hopes of success were for a while entertained.

But it was useless now to sigh after the phantoms of freedom and independence. The antiquity of the foundation of this place, and the celebrity which it once enjoyed, were but melancholy recollections at this day, when Cracow shewed itself stripped of all its former wealth, and accustomed by long experience to the yoke of foreign tyrants.

This last circumstance was curiously exemplified. The barriers of the Podgorze or southern suburb were painted with the white eagle; but we were accosted by an Austrian guard from the military detachment who occupied the right bank of the river. On crossing the ferry to the second quarter of the town, a Russian officer commenced his examination; and a few yards farther we were similarly visited by the

civil authorities of the Saxon, or, as they called it, Polish government, who were, it seemed, still continued in their functions. On driving through the place, the streets appeared old and dismal, and marked in general with that aspect of gloom which the decay of a once flourishing trade never fails to produce\*. In the outskirts appeared many houses fallen into neglect, and in an absolute state of ruin. The fact indeed, that out of a population which once consisted of 80,000 only a fourth part should now remain, is conclusive, and may serve to give an idea of the present lonesome and impoverished condition of Cracow.

So much were the national customs su-

\* Day labour, 30 creutzers. 60 creutzers = 1 florin (silver) = 3 shilling English.

The currency of the place, on this side of the Vistula, was carried on in specie, chiefly the 20-creutzer pieces of Prussia, or the coinage of the dukedom of Warsaw.

There was a manufactory of cloth, another of blue dies, and a brewery; but none of these were in any great state of activity.

perseded by the introduction of foreign habits, that we observed very few examples of the Polish dress any where in the streets; one or two seigneurs only were seen who wore the short cassoc of blue or brown, tied with a red sash about their loins, and the white square-topped cap on their heads; a costume which is particularly well adapted to the tall and comely figure of a noble Pole. A few also of the older men among the peasantry displayed their loose hose and boots, and the white cloth gown over their shoulders, and their heads shaved with only a circle of hair left on the top; but these symptoms of attachment to ancient form were very rare, and the ladies of condition were invariably attired in the French or German fashions.

The citadel of Cracow stands proudly on an eminence commanding the town: it is surrounded with lofty walls and high towers, and contains within its precincts the remains of several public buildings belonging to the former government. But

the palace, as well as the house of diet, have been demolished by the Austrians, and barracks for their soldiers (no inappropriate substitution) erected on the foundations.

The cathedral is a handsome structure, and well deserves the observation of strangers, for many other points than its great bell, or its chapel covered with a roof of golden tiles. Among the tombs of their kings we read the names of Mcislas, Jagellon, Casimir the Great, Sigismond I., Stephen Battori, and Sobieski the saviour of Vienna ; men that once had an influence in the great affairs of Europe, and respect for whom ought to have ensured a better fate for their unhappy posterity. The chair formerly used at the solemnities of coronation is also preserved here: the aged guide seemed almost in tears when he pointed it out to our attention, and told he was present when Poniatowski was placed in that seat.

This was an overflow of patriotism that

might have been spared: their last king was sovereign of Poland, it is true; but the name was the only claim he had in that capacity to the affection of the nation. All other circumstances, however, are now forgotten in the general regret for the extinction of the crown. We might judge from our friend's sensibility of the incoherent nature of his ideas: he afterwards pointed out to us the sewer, through which a party of his countrymen, the members of the confederation of Barr, crept into the castle by night, with the intention of stealing away the puppet Poniowski; and he displayed, on this occasion, the same emotion as we had witnessed on beholding the chair of coronation, or the tomb where his ashes reposed. Of this description, in general, are the sentiments of the people who cry out for independence, but neither know what it is they have lost, or what is the nature of that tyranny which they so much wish to see renewed.

The church of N. D., the monastery of St. Stephen, the botanical garden, the university, built in a semigothic style, and the public promenade of the garden of Lodi, were also objects worthy of attention: though the most curious quarter of Cracow is that of the Casimir town, being wholly inhabited by Jews, and having been originally built for that people by the monarch whose name it bears.

The Jews are first said to have been introduced into Gallicia by Boleslaus, King of Halicz, in 1264. But the period of their prosperity commenced in the reign of Cassimir the Great, who, instigated by his beautiful Jewish concubine Esther, granted them so many immunities and privileges as attracted settlers from all parts of Germany to his dominions. They afterwards became a body highly useful and acceptable to the nobility, not only by their commercial connexions, but by the activity with which they engaged in their domestic concerns; and in time they made

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themselves necessary to them, by completely occupying the place of that middle rank in society, to which a wiser system of policy would have elevated the native vassals. They filled all the chief houses of trade in the town and country, and were, in general, the stewards and agents of all landed property, finally growing to form so powerful a class, that they not only procured the right of establishing judicial tribunals among themselves (subject only to the waywode) but were allowed to have an officer, nominated by the king, who should attend the meetings of the diet on behalf of their sect.

By their present governors they seemed rather viewed as profitable objects of taxation than in any more honourable light, and they suffered accordingly the most enormous exactions: a capitation tax is fair enough, but it is not on quite so equitable a principle that the law, taking advantage of their peculiar habits and customs, lays an heavy burden upon them which is

impossible to evade: thus, the privilege of having an animal killed is valued at 15 groschen; if a turkey, one florin and a half is paid, or for a goose one florin. This last is a very productive impost, for the greasy nature of this bird makes it a favourite dish among the Jews, who cannot taste the forbidden flesh of swine. They are taxed again for the candles burnt in their synagogue, and for the large flambeaux used at the ceremony of marriage, and for many other similar articles.

To give an opinion of them, they are, as far as strangers could judge, an industrious and persevering people, and of a nature that, notwithstanding the oppressive hand of government, seem every where to thrive; some, indeed, have amassed large fortunes in spite of all difficulties, and settling in one or other of the Jewish towns, live in a state of considerable opulence and luxury.

With regard to the Polish nobility, the

extent of their power as baronial masters, as well as members of the politic, has been much diminished since the annihilation of the semi-republican form of government. In the parts under the government of Austria and Prussia, the inordinate authority of the seigneur over his vassals is subjected to actual restraint by law. They do not enjoy the right of inflicting corporal punishment; nor, indeed, are slaves now, as formerly the case, attached to the glebe, so that their condition, in some respects, assimilates to that of the German peasant. Besides this, the manners of the nobles themselves are greatly changed and improved (as was before remarked) by intercourse with their neighbours. There are those, it is true, who confine themselves almost entirely to their country residences; but a great proportion are to be found in society, at the respective capitals of their sovereigns, particularly at Petersburg and Vienna. They are many of them also employed in official situations, for which they

are made equally eligible with the rest of their fellow subjects.

Those who have fallen under the domination of Prussia are excluded from any share in public employments: but, notwithstanding this unjust exception, the mild nature and excellent regulations of the Prussian government have succeeded in making it more generally popular and acceptable among all classes in Poland than either the Russian or Austrian administrations.

As to the feelings of the country in general, and their desire to recover that independence which had lately been so much talked about; a strong spirit of enthusiasm appeared almost every where to prevail. The nobles viewed in the common cause the recovery of their fancied rights; the people heard it only as a name: still it was the watchword of patriotism, and all were actuated by the same wish to see Poland re-established in the rank of nations. The circumstances that had lately

occured afforded evidence enough of this fact: the levies made in the neighbourhood during the occupation of Cracow by the French were raised by ballot, but without resorting to any harsh means of compulsion: the people were ripe for action, and every Pole has a soul for war. One of the citizens amused us much, by recounting a story of his being called upon by a French officer to go and inspect one of these bands of irregulars: they were peasants, in their working dress, armed with scythes fastened on long staves, weapons that promised, in their hands, to be by no means inefficient. Their air and appearance was highly military, and they had gone through several evolutions in excellent style, when our friend took occasion to pay some compliment to their commandant on their proficiency. He allowed in reply that they succeeded extremely well, and that their forwardness was very creditable to the corps, considering the short time they had been embodied; but,

added he, this is not all; wait a few instants, and you shall hear my regimental music. Upon this the word was given, and the whole line drew forth their whetstones from their sides, and began to sharpen their scythes with such a blithe and merry sound as dinned the ears of his astonished companion.

It cannot be held surprising that the proclamations of Buonaparte should have produced a certain effect upon the minds of the people of Poland, when they had so long been used to look to France for deliverance. The legion of Dombrowski at the time of the second partition, finding all their efforts against this act of tyranny to be unavailing, retired to that country, and offered its services to the friends of revolutionary liberty. From hence a constant connexion was kept up between the two nations; and when Dombrowski was sent hither during the war of 1809, his presence and name excited an enthusiastic feeling that naturally enough in-

duced numerous volunteers to join the French army. The subsequent appointment of Poniatowski (nephew of the late king) to command a *corps d'armée*, seemed to raise their hopes to the highest pitch; at the same time schemes of revolution were proposed and the most flattering promises uttered by the French government, and upwards of fourteen millions of people heard the call. When the marshal entered the city of Cracow, at the head of his troops, the shops were illuminated, public honours were lavished profusely upon him, and the citizens seemed to think the emancipation of their country was really at hand. The same spirit pervaded many other parts of Poland, though it was kept down in the east by the presence of the Russian soldiery: for this reason it was that the levies were scanty, and, indeed, says Pradt, Volhynia "afforded us only two soldiers;" but where these tyrants were not numerous, symptoms of insubordination manifested themselves in daily murmurs and discontent, though no



rebellion actually burst forth. Even at Kiev we were informed that a tone of insolence and presumption, before unknown, was constantly in the mouths of the Poles who were resident there, from the highest to the lowest orders, and an almost revolutionary freedom of manner reigned throughout.

At this time, now that the power of France was humbled, the fallen chieftain was still regarded with the most friendly eye; and the reports that we heard in circulation of open dissensions between the new king and his people, of armies in the field, &c. of French marshals divided into parties and exciting the broils of civil war, were sufficient evidences in themselves of the real wishes of those who forged and propagated these stories.

The name or even semblance of independence is so popular, however, and the creation of the dukedom of Warsaw was so much approved, that I have no doubt but that the promulgation of the new con-

stitution, under the viceroyalty of Russia, (promising at least the reunion of the nation) will be not ill received on the part of the people\*.

\* They have received a representative form of government at the hands of the Emperor: the diet consisting of two chambers (nobility and commons) were convoked for the first time on the 15th (27th) March, 1818: the sessions was to last for one month. The following quotations from the inaugural speech of the Emperor deserves, on account of their liberal spirit, to be ever gratefully remembered.

Representatives of the kingdom of Poland—"Elevate  
"yourselves to the height of your destination. You are  
"called upon to give a great example to Europe, whose  
"eyes are fixed upon you. Shew your coteremporaries,  
"that the liberal institutions whose ever sacred principles  
"it is sought to confound with those destructive doc-  
"trines, which in our days have threatened the social  
"system with a dreadful catastrophe, are no dangerous  
"illusion; but if they are sincerely carried into effect,  
"and are directed to an object useful to humanity, are  
"perfectly compatible with order, and that they produce  
"in common accord, the true welfare of nations. Hence-  
"forth it is for you to prove this great and salutary truth.  
"May harmony and concord prevail in your assembly;  
"may dignity, calmness, and moderation, characterise  
"your deliberations. Guided solely by a love to your

August 9.—We now repassed the Vistula to the Austrian territories, and after some trouble with the *douaniers*, who were very diligent in their search after tea or tobacco, we regained the road to Vienna. On passing under the beautiful monastery of Calvary, and ascending the first offset of those long ranges that branch out from the Krapaks, the scene opened to us a noble amphitheatre of mountains, stretching from the Silesian frontier far round to the southern horizon. The foreground was not much diversified: we were met now and then by a Jew trader, with cargoes of hides or salt, and our ears were sometimes assailed by the creaking waggons that conveyed the copper money to Vienna

“ country, purify your opinions ; make them independent  
“ of all private and exclusive interests ; express them with  
“ simplicity and frankness, and avoid the seductiveness  
“ which may too often accompany fluency in speaking :  
“ lastly, may the sense of paternal friendship which the  
“ Divine Lawgiver has prescribed to us all never forsake  
“ you.”

which had been received from the salt-mines, or here and there were more agreeably saluted by a chorus of women chanting hymns as they returned from working in the fields. The constant employment of women, in agricultural labours of every sort, is a custom which, though much more universal at all times on the continent than in England, is said to have been generally on the increase for this last twenty years, from the incessant demands of the different European governments for men. This was however by no means the only example we saw of the misery which was occasioned by the late wars; the number of those thrown out of employment from the change of interest from one side to the other was enormous, and many a person in these parts without any worse crime than a just though impolitic feeling of patriotism was now reduced to want and beggary. Occasionally we encountered a solitary traveller on the road, and of these we were most interested for a poor Pole at

Zebnik, who requested a seat at the back of our carriage : he had served as a soldier in the French army, in the war of 1812 ; had been at Moscow, Viasma, Dorogobusch, Smolensko, &c. and was finally taken prisoner at Dresden in the late campaign : he was now on his return home, having refused service in the Austrian army, and about to live in retirement, a suspected character, as was naturally the lot of those who were engaged in the late transactions.

We saw on this side of Gallicia also, as well as we had on the other, numerous bodies of Austrian troops on their way to the frontier. They were provided with trains of artillery, of caissons, of pontoons, and every material of war ; and carried but little the appearance (which we were told was the object of their march) of being intended as a mere guard of honour, to receive the Emperor of Russia on his expected arrival. The Russians, on their side, did not seem to be inactive ; and

from appearances one might judge that a large army was drawing together in the neighbourhood of Cracow.

The treaties relative to Gallicia\* and other points were to be made while arms were yet in hand. But now being on our way to the congress at Vienna, it was folly to speculate on political contingencies, and we pursued our road heedless of the promise of these warlike demonstrations.

At Belitz we took our leave of Poland, and passing through Austrian Silesia and Moravia, arrived in the course of the month at Vienna.

To the eye of a mineralogist, the country

\* Gallicia (or Lodomeria, according to its name in diplomacy) was formerly a part of the kingdom of Hungary. It was separated in the person of a daughter of Lewis, King of Hungary and Poland, Hedwigi by name, who married Jagellon, Duke of Lithuania, and taking Gallicia as her portion, united it to the crown of Poland. This sort of claim, however, is now out of fashion in modern political arrangements: and it must be observed that it is called a separate kingdom, the emperor's titles being *Hungariæ, Bohemiæ, et Galliciæ Rex*.

we had traversed would present one vast plain, from the rocks of Finland to the foot of the Carpathian Mountains: the eminences that occurred at Valdai, at Moscow, Smolensko, Kiev, &c. can scarcely be said to make any material variation in its form. Numerous rivers, it may be supposed, intersect this surface, and the soil, as to its fertility, shews many degrees of excellence.

The plains about Valdai, as well as the hills themselves, were covered with sand; and on their summits, which had in some parts a broken appearance, we found numerous boulder stones of red gneiss, mica slate, and other fragments of primitive rocks: the height may be about 400 feet. It may be worth while here to make an observation which is not wholly inapplicable to this subject; namely, that the tracts lying to the north of this point seem to have an higher general elevation than those on the south: inasmuch as the rivers taking their course in that direction are

slow and torpid, while the Don, the Wolga, and the rivers on the opposite side, flow with great rapidity, although the course they have to run to their respective seas is much longer than the line to the Baltic; and therefore, if these two plains were of equal elevation, the force of their currents would be proportionably diminished.

Boggy ground and black mould succeeded occasionally; but the soil assumed a redder hue as we approached the government of Moscow; and the little cliffs that overhung the Moskwa river to the east and west were entirely of red rock marl. This soil generally predominated in the line we took to Smolensko, though here some calcareous sandstone also broke out in places. The river Dnieper, at this part, lies extremely deep in its bed, bearing a striking resemblance, both in the colour and form of its banks, as well as its size, to the river Severn, in Shropshire and Worcestershire. The same soil continued on our



road to the south, only growing blacker as we approached the beds of the Desna or the Dnieper; and some distance from the latter we observed large plains of sand, extending on both sides, as is generally the case with rivers of such extent and size.

The Hill of Kiev, which is of considerable elevation, is entirely of fine sandstone; on the south is a naked steppe, and on the west our road soon carried us from the rising ground on which the town stands to a level plain.

The banks of the river at Zytomir were again of a red soil, and on the Slucz, at the town of Novgorod Volhynskoi, we were surprised with the appearance of a sienitic rock, which rose thirty or forty feet over the river banks. The ground which covered it was of the same nature we had so often met with, but perhaps of a more decided ochrous colour, and our line of country, we observed, had for some distance been more diversified than before by a gentle

rise and fall. A few boulder stones of a granitic formation were scattered in various directions.

At Sokolavla we passed over one of the secondary branches of the Krapaks. The rock was a yellowish, granular, shelly limestone: the same appeared at Lemberg, but surmounted by high sand-hills: as we receded from the limits of this formation, we came again upon the red soil, which, however, was mixed with sand.

At Wielicsa we were on the immense bed of fossil salt that breaks out on every side of the Carpathian ranges. It lay imbedded and stratified in parts with shale; the point where the pure rock salt commenced was at a depth not much short of an hundred feet under the argillaceous stratum.

Near Cracow we again came on the limestone formation; of a colour somewhat inclining to yellow, and occasionally exhibiting small black flints imbedded in it\*.

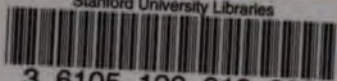
\* I am indebted to the Rev. W. Buckland, reader in Mineralogy, at the University of Oxford, for the correc-







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